



# THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.



THE UNIVERSITY  
*of* EDINBURGH

**Children's Understanding of  
Online Data Privacy:  
A Study On Scottish  
Primary 6 and Primary 7 Pupils**

Amelia Alias

PhD Social Policy  
The University of Edinburgh  
2018

## Declaration

I, Amelia Alias, do hereby declare:

(a) that the thesis has been composed by me, and

(b) that the work is my own, and

(c) that the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Part of this work have been used to develop the following publications:

Alias, A. (forthcoming). The Relationship between Privacy and Trust: A Study on Children's Understanding of Online Privacy. *In review – Journal of Children and Media*.

Alias, A. (forthcoming). Children's Understanding of Privacy. *In review – Journal of Children and Media*.

---

Amelia Alias

## Lay Summary

The increased number in children's online engagement has raised concern among parents, online safety advocates, academics, policy makers and regulators. This concern is due to the nature of social media, which encourages the disclosure of personal information, potentially leading to various threats such as undesired contact, misuse of information, online bullying and various privacy invasion activities, for example identity theft and data mining. Concern regarding online privacy has resulted in a significant amount of research. However, thus far focus has remained primarily on adults and older children.

Due to such gaps in the research, this thesis examines how children perceive online privacy. This thesis also looks at how parents view online privacy and whether their views influenced their Internet parental mediation strategies. Finally, this thesis looks at the benefits and disadvantages of the five different Internet parental mediation strategies that parents use in relation to their children's privacy. This study is conducted through the analysis of interviews and focus groups with Primary 6 and Primary 7 pupils in one school in Edinburgh. Parents were also interviewed in order to gain more comprehensive answers to the research questions.

The results of this study suggests that future policy and practice should give more focus to providing children with knowledge about privacy. This could include children understanding why they need to concern themselves with their privacy both in offline and online environments, how to manage their privacy autonomously, understanding the privacy policies and skills they need to be able to make informed decisions regarding what is to be shared, and how, to whom and when to share personal information. This study has shown that trust plays an important role in reducing parents' concern about their children's online participation. As such, in addition to making parents aware of current social media, online games and other technologies that children participate in, awareness should also include the significance of trust and other parenting elements to support children's online participation. This will serve to both strengthen child-parent relationships and inform parents of the importance of educating their children about trusting other actors on the Internet.

## **Abstract**

There is growing concern over online privacy in today's digital worlds, in part due to the nature of social media, which encourages the disclosure of personal information. Such concerns have resulted in a significant amount of research; so far focused on adults' and teenagers' perceptions of privacy and privacy management.

This study aims to explore how children perceive online privacy. It addresses three research questions:

RQ 1: What are children's views of online privacy?

RQ 2: What are parents' views of online privacy? Do their views on privacy influence how they deal with their children's privacy?

RQ 3: What are the benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parental mediation strategies for children's online privacy?

Twenty-six semi-structured one-to-one interviews and ten focus group sessions were conducted with fifty-seven pupils aged 9 to 11 years old (Primary 6 and Primary 7), from one school in Scotland. Additionally, 8 parents were interviewed to understand how their perceptions of privacy influenced their Internet parenting strategies.

This study has three overarching findings. The first overarching finding is related to children's and parents' views about the Internet as an unsafe place, occasionally leading parents to deploy restrictive and monitoring Internet parental mediation strategies. Second, children view privacy as more difficult to achieve online than offline for two main reasons: (1) the Internet is a 'bigger space' populated by a massive number of 'people', most of whom they do not know nor have they ever seen ('strangers'), and (2) there are certain difficulties in managing the privacy settings of social networking sites. The third finding is that trust, autonomy and privacy are interrelated. Trust reduce privacy concerns, encouraged for two-way information sharing

between children and parents, with an expectation that parents will be able to help identify potential and also unexpected online issues, and necessary advice and safety precautions can be taught to children. As a result, children will potentially be able to manage their online activities in an increasingly autonomous way. Trust is important not only in interpersonal relationships, but also for building confidence for contexts in which we do not have any prior knowledge, such as with strangers or with the providers of online platforms.

# Acknowledgements

Foremost, I thank God Almighty for His mercy, the wisdom, strength, peace of mind and good health He bestowed upon me and the people He sent to support and help me to complete this thesis.

My biggest thank-you goes to the children who took part in this research and the staff at the school for letting me conduct my fieldwork, particularly the head teacher for his great support of this research.

I am hugely grateful to my PhD supervisors, *Professor Kay Tisdall* and *Dr Judith Rauhofer*. Words cannot express how grateful I am to have received their continuous, critical, rigorous and kind support over these past five years.

A special thanks to my parents, *Haji Alias Puteh* and *Hajjah Fadzilah Hashim*, and my brother and sisters, *Ameer*, *Ameera* and *Alia*, whose loving support was unending.

I would also like to thank all of the people who have supported me on this journey: *The Hashim* family members, *Odasaja* family members, *Edinburgh-Malaysian Community* family members and close friends who listened to me endlessly and kept me going.

Finally, thanks are due to my other half, *Mohd Azrin* for his endless love, patience and support. To my daughters, *Balqis* and *Zahra*, I dedicate this thesis to the both of you, who were the biggest reason for me to take on this challenge – to better understand what should we do in raising the both of you in this challenging era.

# Table of Contents

<b>Declaration .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Lay Summary .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Table of Contents .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of Tables .....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>List of Figures .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background of problem .....	1
1.2 The scope of this study .....	2
1.3 Definition of terms .....	3
1.4 Thesis structure .....	5
<b>Chapter 2: Literature Review: Privacy and Its Challenges in Online Environment .....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	7
2.2 Privacy as a human right .....	8
2.2.1 Legal aspects of human rights .....	8
2.2.2 Legal framework in protecting children's right to online privacy .....	10
2.2.3 Legal framework in protecting children's right to data protection .....	11
2.3 Concepts of privacy .....	16
2.3.1 The conceptual foundations of privacy .....	16
2.3.2 Values of privacy – autonomy and its relation to privacy .....	20
2.3.3 Offline and online privacy – are they the same? .....	22
2.3.4 Challenges in managing privacy In the online environment .....	24
2.3.5 Nissembaum's Contextual Integrity .....	28
2.4 Chapter conclusion .....	30
<b>Chapter 3: Literature Review: Children, Internet and Online Privacy .....</b>	<b>31</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	31
3.2 Children's Rights and their Implementation in the digital age .....	32
3.2.1 Introduction to UNCRC .....	32
3.2.2 Reasons on lack of recognition of children's rights provisions in the online environment .....	33
3.2.3 Various efforts in upholding children's rights in the online environment .....	35



3.3	Providing a safer 'place' in the online environment .....	37
3.4	Children's engagement in the online environment .....	40
3.4.1	Trends in children's media access and use .....	40
3.4.2	Online opportunities and problematic situations .....	41
3.5	Children and online privacy issues .....	44
3.5.1	Studies on privacy and SNSs .....	44
3.5.2	Studies on children's online privacy and SNSs .....	45
3.5.3	Children's privacy issues in child-parent relationships .....	47
3.5.4	Privacy invasion by providers of the online platform .....	52
3.6	Guiding concepts .....	55
3.7	Chapter conclusion .....	59
<b>Chapter 4:</b>	<b>Research Methodology .....</b>	<b>60</b>
4.1	Introduction .....	60
4.2	Epistemological stance and research paradigm .....	62
4.3	Participants and fieldwork venue .....	65
4.3.1	Participants .....	65
4.3.2	Data collection venue .....	66
4.4	Overview of data collection methods .....	72
4.4.1	Why focus groups .....	72
4.4.2	Individual semi-structured interview .....	75
4.5	The beginning of the study with children .....	78
4.5.1	Reflexivity .....	78
4.5.2	Pilot study .....	80
4.6	Full study .....	88
4.6.1	Data collection fieldwork with the P6 and P7 pupils .....	88
4.6.2	Interviews with parents .....	94
4.7	Data analysis .....	96
4.7.1	Protecting data .....	96
4.7.2	Analysing data .....	96
4.8	Ethical considerations .....	103
4.8.1	Informed consent and power equality .....	103
4.8.2	Confidentiality and anonymity .....	106
4.8.3	Findings' feedback .....	107
4.9	Chapter conclusion .....	108
<b>Chapter 5:</b>	<b>Findings 1 – Participants View of the Online Environment .....</b>	<b>109</b>
5.1	Introduction .....	109
5.2	Children's online activities .....	110
5.3	Participants' views about the risks on the Internet .....	119

5.4	Influencing factors .....	125
5.4.1	Factors influencing children .....	125
5.4.2	Factors influencing parents .....	128
5.5	Parents' views about the Internet and Internet mediation strategies .....	134
5.6	Chapter conclusion .....	139
<b>Chapter 6: Findings 2 – The Meanings of Privacy .....</b>		<b>141</b>
6.1	Introduction .....	141
6.2	The meaning of privacy to children .....	142
6.2.1	Children's meaning of privacy .....	142
6.2.2	Differences between online and offline privacy .....	150
6.3	Privacy in context .....	156
6.3.1	Privacy in the context of child-parent relationships .....	157
6.3.2	Children's privacy in the context of child-parent relationships .....	161
6.4	The meaning of privacy to parents .....	165
6.4.1	Parents' with fully supportive Internet parental mediation strategies views .....	165
6.4.2	Parents' with less supportive Internet parental mediation strategies views .....	166
6.4.3	Parents' attitudes towards privacy in online and offline environment .....	170
6.5	Chapter conclusion .....	174
<b>Chapter 7: Findings 3 – Trust and its relationship with children's privacy .....</b>		<b>176</b>
7.1	Introduction .....	176
7.2	Trust and its relation to privacy .....	178
7.3	Scope of trust in this study .....	181
7.3.1	Trust between children and parent .....	181
7.3.2	Trust on the Internet .....	184
7.4	The relationships of trust and privacy between children and parents in the online environment .....	187
7.4.1	Children's view on trust and privacy with parents .....	187
7.4.2	Parents' view on trust and privacy with children .....	192
7.4.3	Children's and parents' trust differences .....	197
7.5	Children's view on trust and privacy with online strangers .....	206
7.6	Children's view on trust and privacy with providers of online platforms .....	211
7.7	The benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parenting mediation strategies .....	215
7.7.1	The benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parenting mediation strategies in children's online privacy and autonomy .....	215

7.7.2	The benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parenting mediation strategies in children's rights provisions .....	218
7.8	Chapter conclusion.....	223
<b>Chapter 8: Conclusions</b>	.....	<b>224</b>
8.1	Introduction.....	224
8.2	Summary of findings.....	224
8.3	Implications for debates in the literature and policy and practices .....	236
8.3.1	Contribution in the area of children's privacy and trust.....	236
8.3.2	Contribution in the area of Internet parental mediation .....	238
8.3.3	Contribution in the area of children's rights agenda .....	240
8.3.4	Other contributions .....	241
8.4	Future research .....	243
8.5	Concluding reflections .....	246
<b>References</b>	.....	<b>247</b>
<b>List of Appendices</b>	.....	<b>274</b>
Appendix 1	Focus group activities guide .....	274
Appendix 2	Interview script with child and parent participants .....	277
Appendix 3	Information sheet .....	283
Appendix 4	Parent/carer information sheet .....	284
Appendix 5	Children consent form (Focus group) .....	285
Appendix 6	Parent/carer consent form (for child to participate) .....	286
Appendix 7	Parent/carer consent form .....	287
Appendix 8	Focus group and individual interview evaluation form.....	288
Appendix 9	Child participants questionnaire .....	289
Appendix 10	Focus group and interview consent form .....	291
Appendix 11	Letter to parents for interview.....	292
Appendix 12	Parent/carer participation consent form (individual interview).....	293
Appendix 13	Children consent form (individual interview).....	294
Appendix 14	Parent/carer consent form (for child to participate) .....	295
Appendix 15	Analysis mind map .....	296

## List of Tables

Table 4.1	Parent participant information .....	66
Table 4.2	List of Internet safety topics covered in school .....	70
Table 4.3	List of extended pilot study focus group activities .....	83
Table 4.4	List of focus group activities with P6 and P7 pupils.....	90
Table 4.5	Number of P6 and P7 focus groups participants' information .....	91
Table 4.6	Number of P6 and P7 individual interview participants .....	92
Table 4.7	Types of data collected and purpose .....	96
Table 5.1	Type of online activities by child's participants .....	110
Table 7.1	Benefits and disadvantages of types of Internet parental mediation strategies towards children's autonomy and online privacy .....	216
Table 7.2	Benefits and disadvantages of types of Internet parental mediation strategies towards children's online protection, participation and provision .....	219

## List of Figures

Figure 4.1	P4B privacy mind map .....	86
Figure 4.2	Interconnected Themes Map.....	101
Figure 7.1	Privacy mind map by Sarah (P7B) .....	188

# Chapter 1: Introduction

This section outlines the background of the problem, posed via the research questions, highlighting the gaps found in the literature, and outlines the scope of this study. The chapter closes with a definition of terms and outline of the thesis.

## 1.1 Background of Problem

Children's increasingly spend time on social media, namely blogs, websites, and social networking sites (hereafter SNSs). Such SNSs have raised concerns among parents, online safety advocates, academics, policy makers and regulators. Such concern is due to the nature of social media, which is often associated with disclosing personal information, leading to the possibility of privacy invasion, online grooming, meeting strangers or the potential situation that the personal information is used to bully someone online (Hasebrink et al, 2009; Staksrud et al, 2013; Smahel and Wright, 2014).

A study by boyd et al (2011) reveals that, despite Facebook's rules blocking access to children under the age of 13, there are children under that age who have profiles created by parents or family members. Furthermore, Livingston and colleagues (2010) show that by age 9 children already have a profile with a SNS. Yet, it is suspected that this age group has problems using the appropriate privacy settings on the SNSs to adequately protect their personal information. Parents' concerns about their children's online safety has led to the use of various Internet parental mediation strategies. Studies divided these strategies into the following categories: active mediation, active co-use mediation, restriction, monitoring and technical restriction (e.g. Statin and Kerr, 2000; Livingstone and Helsper, 2008; Çankaya and Odabaşı, 2009; Kirwil, 2009; Tabone et al, 2010; Duerager and Livingstone, 2012; Ktoridou, 2012; Lee, 2012; Lee and Chae, 2012; Sorbring and Lundin, 2012; Alvarez, 2013; Nikken and Jansz, 2013; Haddon, 2015; Iglesias and Larranaga, 2015; Nikken and Haan, 2015; Nikken and Schols, 2015; Willet, 2015; Dias et al, 2016; Suarez et al, 2016).

The topic of Internet parental mediation emerged while reviewing the literature on children's engagement with the Internet. This is particularly the case for the monitoring strategy in the sense that elements of unwanted observation and issues over confidentiality arise (Pasquier et al, 2012; Lwin et al, 2008; Nolan et al, 2009; Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat, 2010; Mathiesen, 2013). With this strategy parents often associate their own actions with ideas of 'safety and protection'. That is to say they often feel that monitoring is needed to 'protect children' from being harmed in the online environment. Implementing such Internet parenting mediation strategies can be useful in the context of safeguarding children 'protection' rights. However, at the same time such strategies can be harmful to the children's 'participation' and 'provision' rights. Parental mediation strategies should balance these rights accordingly.

## **1.2 The scope of this study**

This study aims to explore how children perceived online privacy. Further reading on children and the Internet revealed several gaps that this study could fill. The first relates to the fact that little attention has been paid to the significance and value of children's privacy (Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat, 2010). Most previous studies in this area have been conducted in using quantitative methods with adults and teenagers or young people (aged 13 to 18); very few have focused on young children (Moscardelli and Liston-Heyes, 2004; Gross and Acquisti, 2005; Moscardelli and Divine, 2007; Gray and Christiansen, 2009; boyd and Marwick, 2011). As such, there is a lack of detailed understanding of the online privacy issues as seen from the perspective of children younger than 13 years old. For this reason, a qualitative approach was selected to address the research gap. In addition, qualitative results can provide rich descriptions of the particular phenomena being studied, as it provide room for unexpected results (Sallee and Flood, 2012; Braun and Clarke, 2014).

In this study, the invasion of children's online privacy is viewed in relation to what 'actors' of the Internet - i.e. parents, siblings, peers, strangers and the online service providers - could do to children's data. Children's data in this case refers to the children's online activities, which also includes their personal information, hobbies and interests, their current and past activities, lists of acquaintances, location and time of access. This information could be obtained once

the children engage with the Internet, particularly via SNSs. Ways in which children's privacy can be invaded include: parental interference via overt or covert monitoring methods, siblings and peers interference via public disclosure of personal information without permission on SNSs, online service providers' interference who may use of children's data for commercial purposes, and online strangers, who may use children's data with the intention of harming them (Dowty, 2008).

This thesis raises several questions regarding whether children are aware of their right to privacy: Do children value their privacy? How do children know that their parents or the other 'actors' on the Internet have violated their privacy? For parents, what would be the 'ideal' Internet parental mediation strategy to be used that would balance children's online protection, participation and provision? To answer these questions, I have summarised them into one general question, the three research questions below summarize these inquiries:

RQ 1: What are children's views of online privacy?

RQ 2: What are parents' views of online privacy? Do their views on privacy influence how they deal with their children's privacy?

RQ 3: What are the benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parental mediation strategies for children's online privacy?

### **1.3 Definition of terms**

This thesis uses several acronyms and specialist terms. Therefore, some discussion of terminology is deemed useful at the outset.

- In the context of this study, children refers to people under the age of 18 (UNCRC, 1989). The thesis conducted research with children aged 9 to 11. As such, this thesis largely uses the term 'children' or 'child participants' instead of 'young people'. Although in the Scottish context, 'young people' refers to those aged 11 to 24 (Scottish Government, 2017b), this study does not use the term as only a small number of the participants' had reached 11



years old.

- This thesis uses the term 'online environment' to represent a space where all virtual activities are conducted, and which is controlled by or connected to a computer network. The term 'offline environment' represents real physical spaces, primarily at home. According to Eklund (2014), both terms are normally used to 'distinguish between types of activities utilizing different technologies with different social implications and meanings' (p. 527).
- The term 'social media' will also be used in this thesis; it is a subset of the online environment. The main purpose of social media is to allow communication and interaction between members, which includes various usage contexts, such as sharing and creating content, community building, networking, collaboration, doing business, participation, etc. (Strauß and Nentwich, 2013). There are various categories of social media which can be categorised under boyd and Ellison's definition of social networking sites (hereafter SNSs): (1) classic SNSs, for example Facebook and Google+, (2) online gaming which has an element of social networking and (3) content-based SNSs, for example YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, Twitter and Snapchat.
- The term 'actors' of the Internet will be used throughout this thesis. In the context of this study, it refers to a person, group of people, or even an application, which children can 'meet' through their online engagement. This includes parents, siblings, friends, and strangers, and the providers of online platforms, including social networking sites (hereafter SNS) and games.

## 1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters, including this introductory chapter. Each chapter is explained in turn below.

**Chapter 2** presents a critical review of key theoretical ideas from the burgeoning body of privacy literature. The chapter begins by examining the basic concept of human rights that form the basis of privacy rights, a central topic of discussion of this study. It then discusses the legislation and policies that exist at the European and UK levels in relation to privacy. This is followed by a theoretical explanation of the concepts of privacy, expounding upon the complexity of privacy issues in the online environment and how the behaviour of online self-disclosure could benefit, as well as bring harm to, individuals.

**Chapter 3** continues to discuss the efforts that are being made to uphold children's rights implementation in the online environment at the European, the UK, and Scottish levels with regard to providing a 'safer' place for children to navigate in the online environment. It then discusses children's usage of social media, including an overview of the studies in this area and research gaps relating to children and media-related studies. This is followed by a discussion of the issue of privacy that exists both in children's relationships with their parents, and with online service providers regarding children's engagement on the Internet.

Having examined the literature critically, I then outline the research design and the methodological approaches that were adopted in this study in **Chapter 4**. I outline my epistemological stance, present the rationale for my research approach and the data collection methods selected for this study. I also discuss how data analysis was carried out. This includes how the data were protected, the coding processes that led to the development of themes, and the steps taken to establish the trustworthiness of the data obtained. I conclude the chapter by discussing the ethical considerations considered when designing and carrying out the fieldwork.

**Chapters 5, 6 and 7** presents the findings for this study. **Chapter 5** deals with participants' views about the Internet. **Chapter 6** draws together the key findings from this research, providing answers to the first and second research questions, and discusses them in relation to the literature reviewed in **Chapters 2 and 3**. **Chapter 7** explores children's understandings of how or if their views on privacy are in part influenced by their parent's views. This relates to trust in child-parent relationships: **Chapter 7** also discuss how trust could resolve the privacy issue of children's participation on the Internet, involving communication with other 'actors' on the Internet. Finally, **Chapter 8** summarises the findings of this study, and discusses the implications that arise from this research for existing debates in the academic field, for policy and practice, and for further research.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review - Privacy and its Challenges in the Online Environment

### 2.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, privacy is an issue of concern for children's engagement on the Internet; it is a complex, often contentious issue and the subject of much research and policy attention. Within the vast literature that exists on privacy, this review focuses on academic writing that theorises privacy concepts and its relations to children's participation on the Internet. The literature review explains theories and approaches in understanding privacy, providing both a back-drop to, and springboard for, the approach taken in this study. In doing so, the chapter is organised as follows.

**Section 2.2** discusses the concept that privacy rights are formed on the basis of human rights, a central topic for this study. The section outlines relevant legislation and policies that exist at the European and UK levels in relation to privacy. **Section 2.3** considers the concepts of privacy theoretically, explaining the complexity of privacy issues in the online environment and how the behaviour of online self-disclosure could benefit, as well as bring harm to, individuals. **Section 2.4** concludes.

## **2.2 Privacy as a human right**

This section seeks to explain privacy within a historical context, including the idea that human rights are the foundation of privacy rights. This is followed by a discussion of the general policies that exist at the European and UK levels and the efforts that are being made with regard to children's rights, specifically in the area of privacy and data protection.

### **2.2.1 Legal aspects of human rights**

All human beings are entitled to basic rights and freedoms. According to the United Nations, 'Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status' (OHCHR, 2016, pg.1). Such rights include: privacy, civil and political rights, social, cultural and economic rights, freedom of thought and speech, freedom of religion, the right to an education, and the right to be protected, to name a few. To ensure that human rights are protected, universal human rights are often laid down in the form of laws, treaties, international conventions, or general principles (OHCHR, 2016). The first key international document that spells out these human rights is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (UDHR). The right to privacy has been reiterated by numerous human rights conventions, declarations, and resolutions, including the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) (ECHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), and the European Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights (2000).

In Europe, there are two distinct but parallel systems that play important roles in ensuring the protection of human rights (Kokott and Sobotta, 2013). The first system, as mentioned earlier, is the ECHR – an international agreement that was initiated and administered by the Council of Europe (CoE). The final arbiter in this system is the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) in Strasbourg - also known as the 'Strasbourg Court'. The ECtHR is responsible for hearing complaints regarding alleged breaches of human rights by signatory member states.

The second system is based on the jurisprudence of the Court of Justice of the European

Union (CJEU), also known as the 'Luxembourg Court' or ECJ, which was established in the late 1960s. The Luxembourg Court plays an important role in ensuring compliance with the European Treaties of the European Union. However, the implementation of human rights protection by the Luxembourg Court has long been criticised for being vague and difficult to understand (Harpaz, 2009). This is because the initial focus of the European Union (EU) was on economic rights rather than providing an explicit and comprehensive regime for human rights protection (Harpaz, 2009). At the outset, the EU did not have its own legal charter of fundamental rights, which were only recognised in the general principles of EU law (Brittain, 2015). To remedy this, the EU decided to establish the Charter of Fundamental Rights (hereinafter Charter) in 2000; however the Charter was not legally binding until 2009, after the Treaty of Lisbon was signed (European Commission, 2016). The Charter does not replace the roles of the ECHR. Rather, it covers all case law of the CJEU, the rights and freedoms under the ECHR, and other rights and principles that come from the common constitutional traditions of the EU countries (European Commission, 2016). Note their parallel nature: Article 7 of the Charter highlights the right to respect for privacy and family life, which reflects Article 8 of the ECHR. In addition, through Article 8, the Charter also introduces a fundamental right to personal data protection. Both privacy and data protection are two formally distinct rights, which sometimes overlap and intersect with each other (Gellert and Gutwirth, 2013; Tzanou, 2013). I will discuss the differences and the legal aspects of both of these rights in the next section of this chapter.

In the UK, the ECHR was given effect by the Human Rights Act 1998 (hereinafter HRA). The HRA, which came into effect in the year 2000, made most of the rights in the ECHR enforceable by UK courts. In Scotland, the provisions of human rights are given legal effect through the ECHR, HRA, and also section 57(2) of the Scotland Act 1998. Ten years later, the Scottish government established the Scottish Human Rights Commission, an independent body that is responsible for promoting and ensuring the protection of the rights of everyone in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2015).

### 2.2.2 Legal framework in protecting children's right to online privacy

As explained in the previous section, the concept of privacy and its relationship to human rights is recognised and has been embedded in numerous human rights conventions, declarations and resolutions. For example, Article 12 of the 1948 UDHR states:

*"No-one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attack upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks" (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 2013).*

Article 8 of the ECHR also states:

*"(1) Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence. (2) There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others." (The Council of Europe, 1950).*

Article 7 of the Charter also repeats Article 8(1) of the ECHR. Note that the UDHR was the first international document that made reference to the right to privacy. In addition, Article 17 of the 1966 ICCPR reiterates the above statement regarding privacy. However, although the rights enshrined within the UDHR are recognised internationally, they are but guidelines, and are not legally binding. A similar right is also found in Article 8(1) of Schedule 1 of the UK HRA 1998. Like Article 8 of the ECHR, HRA is a qualified right, which means that in certain circumstances the state can lawfully interfere with an individual's privacy. This is reflected in Article 8(2) of the Schedule 1 of the UK HRA 1998. This occurs in cases related to the protection of national security and public safety, or in the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

It is worth noting that the use of 'Everyone' in Article 8 of the ECHR and HRA means that the rights are applicable to children as well as adults. This is supplemented by Article 14, which states that "[t]he enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without any discrimination [...] birth or other status" (Council of Europe, 1950, p.12). Children's rights were recognised with the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (Jasmontaite, 2012). This includes the provision of children's right to privacy in Article 16 of the Convention. This inclusion of the right to privacy in the

UNCRC indicated the recognition of the importance for children to be equally respected - as adults are - with regard to their own privacy. I will discuss about UNCRC in the next chapter of this thesis.

### **2.2.3 Legal framework for children's right to data protection**

When looking at the legal aspects of the right to privacy and the right to data protection, it is important to highlight that these rights are not identical (Gellert and Gutwirth, 2013). The perception that these rights are similar has created confusion and thus led to a debate among European scholars. This confusion is due both rights relating to personal information and thus sometimes overlapping legally (Gellert and Gutwirth, 2013). One of the common questions raised is whether data protection should be regarded as an aspect of privacy, as it seems to relate to the element of privacy known as 'control of information', as coined by Alan Westin in 1967 (Tzanou, 2013). Nonetheless, these two rights are substantially distinct: The first distinction is that Article 7 of the Charter deals with the provision of privacy, while Article 8 specifically deals with the fundamental right to the protection of personal data (Kokott and Sobotta, 2013). The difference between privacy and data protection can be seen in Article 8 of the Charter, which specifically guarantees that (1) personal data should be processed fairly, with a specific purpose and with the consent of the data subject or on some other legitimate basis specified by law; (2) every person has the right to access any data collected on him or herself; (3) compliance with Article 8 shall be subject to oversight by an independent authority (Kokott and Sobotta, 2013). Another way in which the two rights are distinguished is in their scope: whilst data protection covers all of the processes involved with regard to personal information, privacy is not necessarily limited to personal information, but is much broader, covering a range of rights and values (Tzanou, 2013). On the other hand, the term "privacy" implies an element of secrecy or confidentiality of the information, that is irrelevant for the right of data protection. As I will further discuss in the next section, privacy includes sexual preferences, spatial privacy (the right to be alone), intimacy, and other various definitions of privacy (Houghton, and Joinson, 2010; Uteck, 2013; Claire and Serewicz, 2013). The third distinction lies in the permissible interferences (Kokott and Sobotta, 2013). The provision of



data protection either requires consent to be sought from the person whom the data are to be processed or another legal basis for processing. Despite these differences, these rights are closely interrelated, as having effective data protection helps prevent privacy from being breached. For example, someone's privacy can be breached when unlawfully collecting, storing, or disclosing personal information (Kokott and Sobotta, 2013).

Developments in the information, communication and technology sectors since the early 1970's have led to an increase in the use of personal information in everyday life. Recognising the lack of adequate protection for personal data or informational privacy, the Council of Europe adopted Resolution (73) 22 and Resolution (74) 29 in 1973 and 1974, respectively. Both of these resolutions were intended to provide principles of data protection to the private and public sectors. The other effort made to strengthen data protection was the adoption of the Guidelines on the Protection of Privacy and Trans-Border Flows of Personal Data by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1980. As this is only a guideline, it is not legally binding; however it led to the adoption of the Treaty of Strasbourg, or Convention no. 108, by the Council of Europe in 1981 (Jasmontaite, 2012).

The EU Data Protection Directive (DPD) was adopted in 1995 as part of the EU effort to strengthen data protection. The directive aims "to protect the fundamental right to data protection and to guarantee the free flow of personal data between Member States" (European Commission, 2012, p.1). To strengthen data protection and privacy further in the electronic communication sector, the EU Directive on Privacy and Electronic Communication (2002/58/EC) was adopted in 2002 and amended in 2009 (through the Citizens Right Directive (2009/136/EC)). Despite these wide legal frameworks on data protection, neither directive explicitly protects children's data (Bartoli, 2009; Walrave and Heirman, 2011; Jasmontaite, 2012; Jasmontaite and Hert, 2014). The absence of child-specific provisions of privacy and data protection in the DPD was due to the fact that not all EU member states had ratified the UNCRC at the time the text of DPD was agreed, although UNRCR was published earlier than that, that was in 1989 (Brautigam and Miettinen, 2016). In addition, at the time the DPD was negotiated, the focus was mainly on achieving economic goals, leaving the protection of

human rights, let alone children's rights, as a secondary objective (Jasmontaite, 2014). The lack of specific children provision in the DPD indicates the failure to protect children's personal data adequately. Noteworthy, in the UK, the Data Protection Act was established in 1998 in line with the DPD (in Scotland, data protection law, is a reserved power of the Westminster Parliament). In the UK, the role to uphold information rights in the public interest is under the purview of the Information Commissioner's Office.

In addition to its failure to protect children's personal data adequately, the DPD has some other limitations, as every European state must transpose it into its own national laws, leading to substantial differences and fragmentation of legal frameworks across states (Viola, 2012). Consequently, with the aims of harmonising the level of data protection within the EU states whilst stimulating greater trust by giving individuals autonomy over their own data in the online environment and providing them with consumer protection, the new General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) was proposed in January 2012 to replace the DPD (European Commission, 2012). In May 2016, the GDPR was agreed to and adopted by the EU Commission, Parliament, and Council of Ministers. It will directly effect in all member states on 25<sup>th</sup> May 2018. Among other things, the GDPR includes the provision that providers of online platforms should ensure: a high standard of privacy protection, or 'privacy by default' and 'privacy by design'; the ability for users to request that their data be deleted permanently, or 'a right to be forgotten'; minimisation in collecting customers' and users' data in the course of their online interactions (European Commission, 2012a, p.45).

The GDPR became the first EU legal document that introduces specific privacy and data protection provisions for children (Brautigam and Miettinen, 2016). Article 8 of the GDPR requires the parent or custodian to give their authorisation for the processing of their children's personal data in the online environment. This applies to all children under the age of 16. However, the inclusion of child-specific provisions in the GDPR is not without its controversy and challenges. The proposed threshold age of 16-year-old, which was published by the Council on 4<sup>th</sup> December 2015, has received much criticism and complaints by children protection advocates, who contended that it would deprive children of educational and social

opportunities that they may obtain through their online engagement (Savirimuthu, 2016). This has led to the revision of the final version of Article 8 by allowing Member States to set their own age limit, for when parental consent must be obtained with 13 as the lowest option.

The other concern is the substantive issues of relying on parental consent for the processing of children's personal data. Parents are deemed to have certain knowledge or digital literacy about SNSs, online gaming platforms or other 'information society services' in order to exercise consent to the processing of their children's personal data. In addition, they assumed to possess sufficient skills and knowledge to understand online providers' privacy policies, which are often complicated and complex and which even adults struggle to understand, let alone children (Brautigam and Miettinen, 2016). In addition, the requirement of parental consent for children in the GDPR imposes a threat to children's privacy, as parents may use this to justify assessing child's SNSs or games spaces to make an adequate assessment and evaluate the application for them to give or withhold their consent (Jasmontaite and Hert, 2014). This may create a conflict of interest between parents and their children. Even if exercised for the purpose of protection children in the online environment, the requirement for parental consent may limit children's rights to participation, for example freedom of expression and the right to access information as well as to participate in the decision-making process for those children under the age of 16 (Krivokapic and Adamovic, 2016). Finally, it is seen that the greatest challenge of the GDPR is for the data controller to obtain verifiable consent, which is invariably related to a child age verification requirement to reliably determine that the consent was truly from parents (Brautigam and Miettinen, 2016). However, age verification processes can in themselves constitute a threat to children's privacy. Notably, the United States Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA) also used the parental consent mechanism which have received much criticism. As highlighted by boyd and colleagues (2011), the implementation of COPPA has led to parents helping children to lie about their age in order to participate in SNSs.

Overall, this section has briefly discussed the legal framework that forms the fundamental basis of privacy and data protection rights. The fact that the provision of both of these rights are enshrined in human rights conventions, declarations and other legal instruments signifies that privacy and data protection are inarguably important.

## **2.3 Concepts of privacy**

The purpose of this section is to understand the meaning of privacy in general and discuss the challenges of defining privacy in the online environment. The first part of this section will discuss the various conceptions of privacy. This is followed by a discussion of why privacy is important in one's life by focusing on the meaning of autonomy, why autonomy is critically associated with children's development, and finally why autonomy is important in privacy, in the sense that privacy without autonomy is meaningless. The third part of this section will discuss the differentiation between offline and online privacy. Subsequently, the fourth part of this section focuses on the challenges in managing privacy in the online environment. The final part of this section discusses the privacy concept introduced by Nissenbaum (2010), which will be used as a privacy assessment framework in this study.

### **2.3.1 The conceptual foundations of privacy**

Most privacy theorists advocate that privacy be seen as an elastic concept, a concept in disarray, or one that cannot be articulated (Allen, 1988; Solove, 2006). Despite the lack of agreement in privacy definitions, several aspects of privacy which are commonly discussed in privacy theories: (1) physical space or spatial privacy; (2) choice or autonomy; and (3) personal information (Burgoon, 1982; Burgoon and colleagues, 1989; Kang, 1998; Rossler, 2005; and Vedder, 2011). Details of each aspect of privacy will be discussed below.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the concepts of 'public' and 'private' functioned as a dichotomous pair which informed many aspects of social life (Uteck, 2013). Public spaces, for example the town squares, malls or playgrounds were open to all, while 'private' was code for the home, especially the bathroom and the bedroom. There are clear boundaries between these two spaces. What should be and should not be visible to others was easily distinguished in the legal discourse that uses a private/public distinction. Initially, the concept of privacy was described as the "right to be let alone", as suggested by Warren and Brandeis in 1890. The notion arose as a result of their frustration with sensationalist journalism and photographs which were publicised and commercialised during their time. Pictures were taken without permission and spread in newspapers, which encouraged gossip

and rumors, thus causing what Warren and Brandeis (1890) described as ‘mental pain and distress’ and a ‘perversion of morality’. Tavani (2007) and Uteck (2013) were of the view that Warren and Brandeis’ concept of privacy, also known as the non-intrusion theory of privacy, includes spatial dimensions of privacy as the theory was commonly used as a constitutional doctrine relating to protection of physical spaces, for example at home.

The other theory that relate to spatial dimensions could be seen in Gavison’s (1980) below remarks, which stated:

*“an individual enjoys perfect privacy when he is completely inaccessible to others {...] and no one has physical access to [it]” (p. 421)*

Privacy, according to Gavison, is a limitation of other’s access, suggesting it is related to being secluded or ‘being alone’. Tavani (2007) argues that although both, the non-intrusion and seclusion theory of privacy relate to physical access to individuals, there are differences between these two concepts. The non-intrusion theory relates to unwanted intrusion into one’s personal physical space (at home and so forth), while the seclusion theory is a form of access through observation. This spatial privacy element therefore relates to control over access to the space and also to personal information in the sense that the private space is needed to keep information private (Ford, 2011). One common example of how personal information is contingent upon private space is when a diary is locked and kept in one’s bedroom so that only the owner of the diary has access to the ‘private’ space.

With regards to control over personal information, one of the predominant traditional concepts of privacy comes from Westin’s (1967) famous definition, which states:

*“privacy is the claim of individuals, groups or institutions to determine for themselves when, how, and to what extent information about them is communicated to others” (p.7).*

Westin’s (1967) theory of privacy addresses how people protect themselves. He delineates four states or the ‘hows’ of privacy: *solitude* (condition of being alone, state of being free from observation), *intimacy* (state of being secluded and be with only a limited number of people), *anonymity* (ability to remain unrecognised in public) and *reserve* (limiting disclosure to others).

Fried (1990) was another privacy scholar who addressed control over personal information.

According to him:

*“privacy is not simply an absence of information about us in the minds of others, rather it is the control over information we have about ourselves” (p.54).*

However, these traditional concepts of privacy received much criticism, from the new scholars of privacy, for example Solove (2002) and Nissenbaum (1998), who view that the existing conceptualisation of privacy is unable to deal with the challenges posed in the online environment. These challenges were related to the blurring in the concept of public and private during the latter half of the twentieth century, as mass media and information, communication and technologies started to play their role in humans' life (Ford, 2011). Compared to the offline environment, where observable objects and symbols mark the boundaries between these spaces, and where the size of personal space can be measured in units of distance, the online environment lacks a unit of measurement in its virtual setting (Yao, 2011). I will further discuss the challenges in managing privacy in the online environment in **Section 2.3.4**

According to Solove (2002), Warren and Brandeis' non-intrusion and Gavison's seclusion theory of privacy suffer from being too broad and vague as they do not provide much guidance on how privacy should be valued in other arenas, (for example, law enforcement and free speech). With regards to the critiques on privacy-as-control over information, Solove (2002) contended that this theory is too vague, as Westin is unable to define what types of information individuals should control and what is really meant by 'control' over information. He also criticizes the scope of this theory, remarking that it is too narrow as it excludes aspects of privacy that are not about information, thus limiting the recognition of privacy violations. Solove is of the opinion that Westin's four states of privacy are insufficient, as they focus mostly on spatial distance and separateness, and fail to capture the many different dimensions of informational privacy. In addition, Solove argues that “privacy involves not only individual control, but also the social regulation of information” (p.1115, 2008). He concurs with Schwartz (1999) that the conception of privacy-as-control assumes that only individuals themselves have control over their information, failing to recognise that others may need to access that information. Recognising this deficiency, Solove developed a taxonomy of privacy with the

goal of understanding privacy by providing guidance in identifying, analysing, and ascribing the flow of information in the set of activities that invade privacy. He contended that it is important to understand the problems from the outset, in order to evaluate the effectiveness of privacy protections. He argues that “privacy violations involve a variety of harmful or problematic activities” (Solove, 2006, p.480). It should be noted in this context that Solove argues from a uniquely US perspective, which does not take into account the way in which each EU law conceives of privacy and data protection as rights that can be limited for the public good. As already shown above, the UE data protection law, in particular, justifies the processing of personal data either with the data subject’s consent or on the basis of some other legitimate ground.

In contrast, Nissenbaum (1998) criticises the idea of privacy-as-control over information as too narrow, arguing that it is not enough, given that breaches are still possible once online disclosure is being made. She adds that the traditional approach to privacy in the United States makes a distinction between ‘public’ and ‘private’ spaces (Nissenbaum, 2010; Yao, 2011), but that this distinction is challenged by technological advancements that force society to redefine the boundaries of these public and private spaces. Moreover, the traditional approach to privacy relies heavily on social norms and legal traditions while people from different cultures, with different privacy beliefs and norms, jointly occupy this online space (Moor, 1997; Mesch and Beker, 2010; Yao, 2011).

Another challenge for traditional approaches, according to Nissenbaum (2010, p.104), relates to the privacy paradox, a term used to explain the difference between privacy concerns and actual privacy behaviour. A number of empirical studies have shown that most social network users are concerned about their privacy but, nevertheless, users’ actual behaviour does not always reflect that concern. For example, a study by Debatin and colleagues (2009) shows that, despite their awareness of the importance of privacy controls, users tend to be careless with their personal information, using privacy settings inconsistently and not limiting self-disclosure. The assumption that the Internet allows users to perform self-disclosure freely as part of self-gratification could be one of the reasons why this apparently paradoxical behaviour



occurs (Gross and Acquistu, 2005; Valenzuela et al, 2009; Taddicken and Jers, 2011). However, as argued by Nissenbaum (2010, p.106), people do care about privacy, but they often believe that they have no choice if they want to participate in social life.

The discussion so far considered spatial privacy and personal information aspects of privacy and how the traditional theories of privacy are often weak, unsuitable, and unable to be applied in the context of the online environment. What is left for discussion is the choice or autonomy aspect of privacy. The autonomy aspect of privacy relates to the values that privacy brings to humans, which will be further discussed in the next subsection.

### **2.3.2 Values of Privacy - Autonomy and its relation to privacy**

Autonomy is a key concept in relation to privacy, as argued by various scholars (Westin, 1967; Nolan et al, 2009, Shmueli, 2010). Individuals are said to experience privacy if they manage, “to avoid being manipulated or dominated wholly by others” (Westin, 1967, p.33). In relating privacy with autonomy, individuals are entitled to their own time, space and opportunities to experience and experiment with behaviour, thoughts, and emotions (Peter and Valkenburg, 2011).

Although there are many conceptions of autonomy, the common theme among scholars and theorists relates to self-governing in one way or another (Stoljar, 2007; Deci and Ryan, 2008). This is based on the root of the word autonomy; ‘*auto*’ came from the Greek word - *for self*, and ‘*nomos*’ meaning *law* or *rule*. Indeed, we have seen that various meanings are associated with autonomy - for example independence, self-regulation, self-governance, agency, freedom, the ability to control oneself, among others - indicating that there is no specific and exclusive definition of the term autonomy (Castle, 2004). Many theorists from a variety of disciplines - for example social psychology, pedagogy, feminism, and psychological development to name a few - have written about autonomy. This could be the reason why there is a lack of consensus regarding conceptual and operational definitions of autonomy.

Autonomy is indeed important in children's lives and it is critically associated with children's development, as argued by Nolan and colleagues (2011):

*"[...] becoming an autonomous individual is central to social development and socio-emotional development in the early years in many Western cultural contexts" (p.25).*

Nolan and colleagues' stance on the importance of autonomy to children was highlighted earlier by Haworth (1984), who states that autonomy is needed in order to increase an individual's overall wellbeing. The relation here is that children who fail to develop autonomy eventually have difficulties as adults; they do not have the skills for critical thinking and fail to develop the intrinsic motivation to take ownership of their life skills and learning (Howe and Strauss, 2007). The other theorist who contends that autonomy is important for children development is Eekelar (1986), who states that autonomy for a child is "the freedom to choose his own lifestyle and to enter social relations according to his own inclinations uncontrolled by the authority of the adult world, whether parents or institutions" (p. 171). Eekelaar labelled this 'autonomy interests', which is a subordinate to the other two interests that are relevant to children, namely (1) basic interests that are related to the essential requirement of living (for example, related to physical, and emotional interests), and (2) development interests. According to Eekelaar, children should have autonomy to make decisions for themselves as long as such autonomy does not violate one of their basic or development interests.

The concept of autonomy that is used in the context of this study comes from Kamii (1984, p.410), who defines autonomy as "being governed by oneself" meaning that an individual is able to make decisions for him or herself. Autonomy is contrasted to heteronomy, wherein decisions are made by someone else. In a parent-child relationship, the act of heteronomy refers to the 'over involvement' of parents in their children's lives (LeMoyne and Buchanan, 2011). When heteronomous, parents make decisions for their children, do not trust their children's ability, and do not allow their children to engage in age-appropriate tasks. This shows that parents are authoritative in most aspects of their child's life. In this case, children do not have the opportunity to learn to make decisions, which, as mentioned earlier, deprives children of the decision-making and critical thinking skills that are crucial later in life.

Taken together, privacy arguably brings positive value both to individuals and to society as a whole. Westin (1967) posited four functions or 'whys' of privacy for an individual: *personal autonomy*, *self-evaluation*, *limited and protected communication*, and *emotional release*. As discussed above, with autonomy, privacy enables individuals to be alone, to learn to assess situations, and to make their own decisions. Later, this experience can be integrated into meaningful patterns, evaluated, and tested based on the responses of other people (*self evaluation*). Privacy can also be achieved by creating boundaries, which are needed in interpersonal relationships (*limited communication*). Boundaries are knowing where you end and the other person begins, which is necessary in interpersonal relationships, to give people their own personal space. People often become frustrated, uncomfortable, and/or nervous if their personal space is being encroached upon. Under *protected communication*, individuals are able to self-disclose their intimate information with people they trust, normally peers, knowing that this information will not be shared with others. Finally, with *emotional release*, individuals are able to escape or relax temporarily from the stresses of daily life, cope with loss, shock, and sorrow.

Overall, the current and the previous subsections provide starting points on how privacy should be understood, the terms of its divergence in the definitions, the limitations on the traditional concepts of privacy as well as the values that the privacy brings to human. The previous section has provided a glimpse on the challenges of the traditional theories of privacy to be applied in the context of online environment. The next sections will further discuss these challenges. Prior to that, I will first explain the differences between the state of privacy in the offline and online environment. This explanation important as child participants were asked about these differences as part of their understanding on the meaning of privacy.

### **2.3.3 Offline and online – are they the same?**

In this thesis, the terms offline and online are used to represent two different environments. In the earlier studies of online communications, there is practice to introduce a conceptual dichotomy of online and offline. However, research has increasingly show that this online and offline separation is artificial, in a sense that in order to understand sociality online, there is a

need to connect both online and offline (Williams, 2006; Subrahmanyam et al, 2008; Staksrud et al, 2013). The offline environment indicates a state of disconnection or real physical space - for example at home, in school or other physical space - whereas the online environment indicates states of connectivity or being in virtual or Internet space. According to Eklund (2014), both of these terms are normally used to 'distinguish between types of activities utilizing different technologies with different social implications and meanings' (p. 527). One example of offline and online activities is playing football outside and playing football games on the Xbox player console. Looking at the meaning of offline and online, Eklund's (2014) explanation indicates that these two spheres of environments are different, which should be reflected in how they are understood in terms of privacy.

Comparing between these two environment of privacy, online privacy has a different dynamic than offline privacy (Gellman and Dixon, 2011). This is related to how the attributes of information or information itself are used in the online environment. For example, the retention time for certain information in the offline environment is limited as it relies on human memory and is bounded by context. We normally know which information will be appropriate to share by taking into account with whom it is shared and the place where it is secured. We are able to understand conventional cues for confidentiality and how much information we can share with others (Steijn, 2014). This is not happening in the online environment as the technology allows for information to be kept longer in storage devices and complete deletion could be impossible. Stored sensitive information (for example, health care and financial data) carry a risk that they might be shared with other parties or illegally used by marketers for advertising. Technology has also eased the way information is shared with, and is easily accessible to other parties and the wider public. In contrast, an individual's tendency to share information with wider public audiences in the offline environment is limited and 'broadcasting' is difficult to be done (Coopamootoo and Ashenden, 2011).

Whilst there are benefits of technology advancements as explained above, they introduced a bevy of new privacy risks: for example, hacking, data breaches of online information, identity

theft, and other computer intrusions that resulted from carelessness and online security flaws (Gellman and Dixon, 2011). In terms of the adverse effect of privacy invasion, it can be seen that online users would suffer more compared to the privacy invasion in the offline environment. For example, the act of voluntarily sharing personal information or information that was shared by others about you in social media may form misleading impressions by peers, colleagues or prospective employers. This could affect future career prospects. The unsolicited advertisement and advertisement that may reveal too much information about a person when sent by marketers can lead to the feeling of annoyance or embarrassment. This does not include the misery that one would have to deal with if one's identity was used by someone else or being harassed.

However, despite the differences in how we understand offline and online privacy, the values that privacy brings to these two spheres should remain the same. Privacy, in both offline and online environments, still remains important in one's life. The dignitary values that privacy brings to humans regardless of the environment that person is in remain crucial. The similarity that the values of privacy hold signifies that both offline and online privacy are interconnected. Notably, as argue by Williams (2006), in order to understand sociality online, there is a need to connect both the online and offline environment. Thus, this study takes the stance that in order to understand children's view on the online privacy, it is beneficial to attain their view on the offline privacy and how they managed it.

#### **2.3.4 Challenges in managing privacy in the online environment**

Tavani (2007, p.7) highlights that the privacy-as-control paradigm has two points which make it difficult to be use in an online environment: the paradigm does not address "(a) which kinds of personal information one can expect to have control over, and (b) how much control one can expect to have over one's personal information". The specific attributes of information in the online environment as termed by boyd and Marwick (2011) are the main reasons for this. These attributes - (1) *persistence*; (2) *replicability*; (3) *scalability*, and (4) *searchability* - pose challenges for individuals in managing their personal information (boyd, 2010). *Persistence*

refers to the ability of information to be kept for a very long time. Technology has also allowed humans to duplicate information easily. This specific feature is called *replicability*, and includes the ability to change or alter the information easily. *Scalability* refers to the possibility that the information could be accessed and seen by a wide audience which we do not know in person. This can be exemplified by the 'Share' option on the Facebook. Without proper privacy settings on SNS, information of ours that was shared by friends could be seen by people who might be unfamiliar to us. Finally, by using a search engine, information can be retrieved easily - this is referred to as the *searchability* attribute.

To complicate things, these specific attributes of information in the online environment create three main challenges or social dynamics for people when managing their privacy online. In the offline environment, it is likely that we have a sense of who is present, thus allowing us to manage our privacy. However, in the online environment, the specific attributes of information on the Internet enable our information to be accessed by wide audiences, who may or may not be familiar to us and of whose existence we may not be fully aware; This is referred to as 'invisible audiences' (boyd, 2010). In these cases, even though we think that we are communicating with certain people, the information that we disclose on social media may also be read by others.

The wide and varied audience on social media leads to a phenomenon termed the 'collapsed context' (boyd, 2002), the second social dynamic. People that come from various backgrounds and contexts (for example office colleagues, our ex-schoolmates, family members) all collapse into the common category or generic term of 'Friends' on social media. This could lead to a problem for a person in dealing with his or her self-presentation, as family members and acquaintances may unintentionally comment or share conflicting information that the users did not intend to share. Thus, in order to manage this collapsed context, people tend to deploy various techniques such as deleting comments, utilising privacy settings, blocking certain users from viewing certain content or using different platforms or online identities for communicating with different groups of people (Marwick and boyd, 2012; Marwick and Ellison, 2012). Among other common social strategies used by social media users is the sharing of

content that is suitable to all audiences, termed the 'lowest common denominator' by Hogan (2010). Davis and Jurgenson (2014), however, argue that the term 'collapsed context' is ambiguous, as this mixing of social contexts will not only bring problematic consequences, but also potential benefits.

They further refine the concept of context collapse splitting it into two types of context collapse: (1) context collusions and (2) context collisions. Context collusion refers to the occasions in which contexts come together with one's intention to take advantage of the resources and affordances of social media. In other words, people intentionally engage with a wide audience on the Internet for their own benefit. Studies show that engaging with social media can increase users' resources, such as access to information and opportunities, development of norms of trust, and strengthening of bonds with family and friends (Ellison et al, 2007; Valenzuela et al, 2009). Context collision refers to context collapses that are unbeknownst or unexpected by the user. Common situations of context collisions in social media involve friends sharing photos or information that people do not want others to see or know. This can happen to children who might not want their parents to know about their activities (boyd and Marwick, 2011). Context collision could also happen when the online platforms or systems do not function as expected by users: for example, by mishandling the data or, as Facebook has previously done, by resetting privacy settings to 'public' without informing the users of such changes (Sophos, 2011). Context collision is similar to the theory of contextual integrity, as proposed by Nissenbaum (2010) (see below), who posits that privacy should be assessed contextually and stresses adherence to the expected norms of information flow specific to that context. Use of the information outside of that context constitutes a violation of privacy. Within contextual integrity, the act of sharing information which the owner did not intend to share by other person constitutes a violation of privacy.

The third and final social dynamic posed by the specific attributes of information on the Internet is related to the lack of boundaries on the Internet, which leads to a blurring of the notions 'private' and 'public'. This blurring has led to wide discussions as it changes the social norms regarding social interaction and information distribution (Vitak, 2012; Steijn, 2014). People

continuously share their private stories and information in the public realm of the Internet, which is intensified by the notion that social interaction relies on such practice (Strauß and Nentwich, 2013). In the offline environment, the interactions and movements of individuals can be limited and visible only to people nearby. In contrast, in online spaces the content of interactions is often observable by a large global audience, where conventional cues may not be applied.

The above has discussed how challenging it is for individuals to manage their privacy in the online environment. This is the reason why boyd (2012) advocates that any privacy model that centres on control of information will not succeed, as 'privacy-as-control' assumes that individuals have the power to assert control in a particular situation. She adds that control requires individuals to have the necessary knowledge and skills, and it assumes that individuals comprehend the situation fully, enabling them to make informed decisions regarding what is to be shared, and how, to whom, and when.

In addition to the four specific attributes of information in the Internet discussed above on other challenge to managing privacy in the online environment is related to how SNSs privacy settings were designed. Almost all SNSs were designed as public-by-default and private-thru-effort platform, thus requiring some knowledge on how to manage privacy settings (boyd and Hargittai, 2010; boyd, 2014). Knowledge is also needed for individuals to comprehend the SNSs' privacy notices, which are often written in such 'opaque, impenetrable legalese', too complex and lengthy for even adults to understand, let alone children (Brautigam and Miettinen, 2016, p.115; Jasmontaite, 2014).

Overall, the technology advancements have contested the existing view of privacy in ways never seen before and people lose the protection of privacy through obscurity, as all information is created and stored digitally. For example, databases could be used to search for individual records and surveillance – ranging from online monitoring, usage of closed-circuit television (CCTV) to loyalty cards, followed by the use of cookies in websites and also the use of radio-frequency identification (RFID) to read and capture information on a tag embedded in everything. In addition, the introduction of social media has added to the tensions between the



public and private spheres, as users share much of their 'private' lives in the 'public' realm of the Internet. The ubiquity of information and communication technologies has radically altered the flow of information, increased the amount of information that can be accessed, and the number of people who can access it. Acknowledging that managing privacy in the online environment is complex leads to a discussion on how Nissenbaum (2010) resolves these limitations, which is discussed below.

### **2.3.5 Nissenbaum's Contextual Integrity**

Realising the inadequacy of the other conceptions and approaches to privacy, and adapting to the rapid advancement of the Internet, Nissenbaum (2004) introduced "contextual integrity" (CI) as a framework for analysing privacy. CI is a framework to understand people's reactions to any alterations in information practices caused by deploying information technology. According to Birnhack (2011), in a review of Nissenbaum's "Privacy in Context", Nissenbaum

*"seeks to identify the impact of a new socio-technological system on existing, entrenched norms (social and/or legal norms) relating to the transmission of personal information within a specific context."* (p.13).

Nissenbaum (2004) argues that every aspect of human life is governed by context-specific norms of information flow, and that our privacy is invaded when these informational norms are violated. According to Nissenbaum, there are two types of information norms that, if either one is violated in a particular context, means that the contextual integrity of flow of the information is violated. In other words, breaching these norms constitutes a violation of privacy (Nissenbaum, 2010). The first is called the norm of appropriateness: which information is appropriate to be shared with others. The second is called the norm of distribution: whether information shared initially should be subsequently shared with others. Nissenbaum interprets the right to privacy as the right to have one's expectations about the flow of information met. With CI, privacy should be assessed contextually stressing adherence to the expected norms of information flow specific to that context.

Nissenbaum's CI has been used as a framework for assessing online privacy in the context of the medium of communication, for example mobile phones (Hasinoff and Shepherd, 2014),

personal blogs (Grodzinsky and Tavani, 2010), and social networking, particularly Facebook (Hull et al., 2011; Sar and Al-Saggaf, 2014). Hull and colleagues (2011) highlighted that Facebook has violated users' privacy. In 2007, Facebook introduced the application called 'Platform', which allows third-party games and other applications to be integrated with user's profile. Facebook violated the norms of information flow by allowing the third party developers to access not only to user's profile information but also user's friends. There were a lack of transparency and control about how Facebook users' information was being used by these third party developers. Hasinoff and Shepherd (2014) use the CI framework to understand young adults' expectations of privacy when sharing suggestive photos via mobile (sexting); results indicate that a large majority of participants thought that sharing private images is unacceptable. Sar and Al-Saggaf (2014) examined the implication of privacy by tracking online users' movements across Facebook's Like button, Google's Plus One button, and Twitter's tweet button. Using the CI framework, they found that there was a breach of informational norms when these SNSs failed to gain informed consent from their users. The use of SNS widgets (3<sup>rd</sup> party sites) to record and monitor the SNS users' movements contributes to the breach of privacy.

Overall, this section has discussed how challenging it is for individuals to manage their privacy in the online environment. In addition, this section discussed the Contextual Integrity theory, a new cutting-edge theory of privacy discourse introduced by Nissenbaum in assessing privacy. Nissenbaum's CI assessment framework informed this study's design, given its explicit formulation for the online environment. As argue by Hull and colleagues (2011), Nissenbaum's CI highlights the importance of social contexts to privacy norms, which is one of the greatest strengths of this framework.

## **2.4 Chapter conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the importance of privacy in one's life and how technology has changed the way privacy should be 'defined' and managed in the online environment. The main aim of this study is to understand how children view their privacy on the online environment. Privacy in the online environment relates to how personal information is managed, which has led to a discussion of the notion of 'privacy-as-control' over personal information compared to other notions of privacy, such as privacy as the right to be alone and privacy as seclusion. The review of literature in the area of informational privacy concludes that the notion of privacy as control is insufficient, too vague, and too narrow to be used in the context of the online environment. In other words, privacy-as-control fails to assess how an individual's privacy has been violated in the complicated world of the online environment. This has led Nissenbaum to propose the CI frameworks on how privacy should be assessed.

The following chapter discuss children's usage of social media, including an overview of the studies in this area as well as research gaps with regard to children and media related studies.

# Chapter 3: Literature Review - Children, Internet and Online Privacy

## 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed privacy in detail, specifically: the privacy and data protection legislation and policies that exist at European and UK levels; the theoretical concepts of privacy; and the complexity of privacy issues in the online environment. This chapter continues the discussion. The focus here will be on examining children's engagement in the online environment and how it relates to the potential invasion of their privacy.

The rest of this chapter is organised as follows. **Section 3.2** offers a discussion on the efforts being made to uphold children's rights in the online environment. **Section 3.3** discusses the current efforts that are being made at European, UK and Scottish levels to provide a 'safer' place for children to navigate in the online environment. This is followed by a discussion (**Section 3.4**) of children's usage of social media, including an overview of the studies in this area as well as research gaps with regard to children and media related studies. This includes a discussion of the types of online activities in which they engage, and the risks and opportunities they face in the online environment. Subsequently, **Section 3.5** focuses on the discussion related to children and online privacy issues, focusing on how Internet parental mediation strategies may violate children's privacy, and looks at privacy invasion by the online service providers as well. **Section 3.6** discusses the guiding concepts that underpin this study. **Section 3.7** concludes.

## **3.2 Children's Rights and their Implementation in the digital age**

Recall the discussion in the previous chapter on the challenges in managing privacy in the online environment and boyd's (2012) argument that knowledge and skills are needed for individuals to fully comprehend the situation and enable them to make informed decisions. Here, in order for children to obtain the relevant knowledge and skills, participation and involvement in the online environment is required. Discussing children's engagement in the online environment relates to the rights that children have.

The aim of this section is to discuss children's rights and the effort to implement them in the online environment. The section starts with an overview of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), an international convention that signified the recognition of children's human rights. Subsequently, this section moves on to discuss children's rights in the digital age, including the reasons as to why there is a lack of recognition of children's rights in this context. Finally, I will discuss the recent efforts made by various stakeholders such as children's rights campaigners and advocates, academics, and civil society and governments in upholding children's rights in the digital age.

### **3.2.1 Introduction to UNCRC**

As with adults, children are entitled to their own rights. With regards to this, the birth of the UNCRC on November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1989, which came into force on September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1990, helped changed how children (from birth to 18 years old) should be seen – as persons that have their own rights as human beings, are capable of making their own decisions, and are entitled to express themselves freely (Miljeteig-Olssen, 1990; Matthews and Limb, 1998; Reynaert et al, 2012). The UNCRC is considered a “milestone in the endeavour for a greater respect for children” (Reynaert et al, 2012, p.1).

As the UNCRC is about human rights, it therefore inherits the same rights as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and other human rights treaties though with enhancements to cater for the specific needs of children (Miljeteig-Olssen, 1990). The UNCRC consists of 54 Articles which can be classified into three categories: (1) Protection (from abuse,

harm, and exploitation); (2) Provision (positive rights regarding education, health, social security, nationality and identity); (3) Participation (rights regarding freedom of expression, privacy, religion, and access to information). However, although the UNCRC has existed for 27 years, there remains a lack in recognition of children's rights in the online environment (Livingstone et al, 2015; Livingstone, 2014; Livingstone, 2014a). Acknowledging this, the Committee on the Rights of the Child devoted its 21<sup>st</sup> Day of General Discussion on the "Digital Media and Children's Rights" in September 2014 to discuss and better understand the role of children's rights in the online environment, and to develop strategies that might maximise children's online opportunities while protecting them from risks and harms (Committee on the Rights of the Children, 2014). The Committee recommended that each of the articles of the UNCRC be re-examined in order to identify their relevance to the Internet and the digital age more broadly. Evidently, although the UNCRC was formulated before the mass adoption of the Internet, the values set out in the Convention do not diminish the importance of privacy in the online environment (Committee on the Rights of the Children, 2014). The growing concerns and efforts made to address the gap in terms of the lack of recognition of children's rights provisions in the online environment is deemed to have come at the right time, as they recognise the increasing numbers of children engaging in this environment.

### **3.2.2 Reasons on lack of recognition of children's rights provisions in the online environment**

There are several reasons for the failure to recognise children's rights in the digital age. First, the Internet was initially developed for the private sector to create a market for new products and services, which was targeted at adults. Children were targeted, but only as consumers (Leiner et al, 2012). Second, and related to the first reason, focus was initially placed on enhancing the technical complexities of the Internet itself to meet the demand of this social, economic, and political phenomenon (Livingstone et al, 2015). The beginning of social media in the 1990s led scholars to focus on the importance of online social interactions. Beginning in the year 2000, with the realisation regarding the increasing number of children engaging with the Internet, scholars began to explore this area. However, their focus was on the effects

of media exposure on children's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours or, according to Livingstone (2016), the focus was placed on effect-based research compared to a rights-based framework. The third reason is related to the complex cross-jurisdictional nature of the Internet. Finally, children's use of the Internet raises challenges in terms of technical and policy implementation (Livingstone et al, 2015).

As of 2009, Stald and Haddon (2008) report that emphasis has been placed on research into children's online usage, while there has been little research on children's digital literacy, participation, civic engagement, or online problematic situations. Online problematic situations mean potentially negative experiences faced by children while using the Internet, for example receiving violent, vulgar, nasty, or sexual content information. However, as of 2016, the studies and research into children and the media to support evidence-based policy have expanded and grown rapidly (Storm-Mathisen, 2016). This includes in-depth studies on how children face problematic situations on the Internet (see Livingstone et al., 2014; Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2014; Smahel and Wriight, 2014). Other areas include studies on young children's media use (see Holloway et al., 2013), children's engagement on social media (see Ellison et al., 2007; Marwick and boyd, 2014; Montgomery, 2015), and exploring children's mobile opportunities (Stald et al., 2014; Vincent, 2015). In addition, research on parents' knowledge and management of their children's media usage is also increasing (see Willumsen et al., 2014; Haddon, 2015; Nikken et al., 2015; Lim, 2016). Thus, researchers have done much to establish evidence-based policy and recommendations as guidance for policy makers and experts; however, as argued by Livingstone and Bulger (2014) and Byrne and Burton (2017), most research has focused on the children's online protection. According to Lansdown (2013), the protection agenda often gets more attention compared to efforts to implement the children's rights agenda in terms of provision and participation, even in the offline context. According to Bryne and Burton (2017), sensationalised media reports is one of the reasons that led to the emphasis on protection, rather than the other two children's right agendas.

Note that the UNCRC promotes children's provision to access information (Article 17), right to education (Article 28), right to develop child's personality, talents, and abilities (Article 29), and right to enjoy cultural, artistic, and other recreational activities (Article 31). Children's participation is mentioned in the following: Article 12 (respect for the views of children), Article 13 (freedom of expression), and Article 15 (freedom of association). As such, the lack of focus on the children's rights agenda especially in terms of the online participation and provisions has had an impact on efforts to empower children's rights to foster creativity, exploration, expression, knowledge and societal engagement in the online environment (Livingstone et al, 2015).

### **3.2.3 Various efforts in upholding children's rights in the online environment**

Children's engagement in online activities and its implications have caught the attention of various parties. At the UK level, among the efforts in upholding children's rights in the online environment is the establishment of the 5Rights framework in which digital environments should be designed. There are five main principles outlined by 5Rights, which children and young people should be entitled to while engaging with digital technologies: (1) The Right to Remove; (2) The Right to Know; (3) The Right to Safety and Support; (4) The Right to Informed and Conscious Choices; and (5) The Right to Digital Literacy.

In Scotland, the 5Rights project started in April 2015 and recently the final report has been submitted to the Scottish Government (Scottish Government, 2017). Various gaps have been identified as below:

- (1) Children's lack of awareness about their rights in the online environment,
- (2) Adults' lack of understanding of children's online experiences,
- (3) Children's lack the same access to Internet as adults, thus children do not the same digital experiences and missing out on online opportunities,
- (4) Children's lack of knowledge and control of their personal data and lack of understanding of Terms and Conditions and Privacy Policies,



- (5) Children's and parents' lack of knowledge concerning Internet safety, cyber resilience and digital literacy,
- (6) Teachers' lack of knowledge and confidence in supporting children in digital issues and learning.

Several recommendations have been proposed to address the above gaps. Among them are the following: For the Scottish Government and local authorities to prioritise digital literacy, cyber resilience and Internet safety in school; more comprehensible, shorter and non-legal jargons in the guidelines for Terms and Conditions and Privacy Policies; the incorporation of 5Rights into the UNICEF's Rights Respecting Schools Awards (school commitments to UNCRC in digital context); support from local authorities, school and youth work services to children and their parents on digital rights, skills and experiences; and continuous discussion and dialogues needs to be managed and maintained between children and young people themselves, the Internet governance and children's rights organisations to achieve a consensus on the codes of practice, regulations, guidelines and other practices to be implemented.

Overall, this section discussed the UNCRC as the main legally binding international agreement that upholds children's rights from the point of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural standpoints. However, its presence and role in the online environment are deemed to be insufficient by children right's advocates and more efforts are needed to support children's participation on the Internet to enable them to have the knowledge and skills to make informed decisions regarding how to manage their privacy in the online environment.

### 3.3 Providing a safer 'place' in the online environment

In order to encourage children's, parents' and the public's awareness of ensuring online safety, the European Commission established the European Commission's Safer Internet Programme in 2005 (European Commission, 2010). Looking at the issues holistically, the programme encourages participation from various parties, including social networking sites and mobile phone operators, in adopting strategies for system enhancement, in order to provide a safer space and tools for children navigating the online environment (European Commission, 2010; Savirimuthu, 2011). One of the projects funded by the European Commission's Safer Internet Programme was the EU Kids Online Project that "aimed to identify, compare and draw conclusions from existing and on-going research on children and online technologies conducted in Europe" (Livingstone and Haddon, 2009, p.1). At the beginning, children and parents from 25 European countries were surveyed in order to obtain original and rigorous data. The number of participating countries has now increased to 33 European countries.

Realising the importance of a more trustworthy Internet environment, the European Commission launched a strategy, not just a 'safer' online environment, but for 'a better Internet for children', which includes various policy initiatives (O'Neill, 2012). Among them was the formation of a CEO *Coalition* of the main Internet companies in Europe in 2011. The coalition aims to make the Internet safe for children by reporting harmful content and contacts. This includes creating age-appropriate privacy settings and appropriate parental controls, as well as providing child abuse resources to children and parents regarding how to protect children (CEO Coalition, 2012). This was followed by the formation of an ICT Coalition for a Safer Internet for Children and Young People in 2012, in which 25 key Internet players participated. As a result, a set of principles to guide the development of online services was created as part of the industry's self-regulation in promoting best practice in child online protection (CEO Coalition, 2012).

As part of the UK's effort to provide a safer place for children in the online environment, the government formed the UK Council for Children's Internet Safety (UKCCIS) in 2008, which engages the governmental sectors, academics, law enforcement agencies and charities to collaborate and ensure that children are safe online. In supporting this effort, the Scottish Government introduced Scotland's Child Internet Safety Action Plan in February 2010 and 2011/2012 Scottish Action Plan on Child Internet Safety and Responsible Use (Scottish Government, 2010; UK Government of Education, 2013). Note that recently, the 2017 Scottish National Action Plan on Internet Safety for Children and Young People has been introduced by the Scottish Government to continue the actions set in 2010 and 2011. In addition, various programmes and strategies have initiated by the Scottish Government to increase children's, parents', and teachers' awareness of online safety, for example: 2013 Guidance on Developing Policies to Promote the Safe and Responsible Use of Mobile Technology in Schools, 2014 Digital Participation Strategy, 2015 Cyber Resilience Strategy for Scotland, 2016 National Action Plan to Prevent and Tackle Child Sexual Exploitation, 2017 5Rights project (as explained in the previous section) and 2017 Scotland's Digital Strategy (Scottish Government, 2013; Scottish Government, 2014; Scottish Government, 2015; Scottish Government, 2016; Scottish Government, 2017; Scottish Government, 2017a).

The other effort to increase awareness of online safety is the establishment of the Scottish Stakeholder Group, which specifically looks at children's online safety issues in collaboration with the UK Child Exploitation and Online Protection (CEOP) Centre. Through the "Think U Know" programme, the Stakeholder Groups promotes training for teachers, local education authorities, and many more. "Think U Know" is a programme, organised by CEOP, that provides a wide range of education resources on online safety to children, parents and educators.

Apart from parental guidance, teachers and schools play important roles in educating pupils about digital skills and online safety (O'Neill et al, 2011; Valcke et al, 2007; Ranguelov, 2010). Sonck and colleagues (2011) and Van Deursen and colleagues (2015) defined digital skills

are skills, such as: (1) operational skills (how to upload and download files, saving photo); (2) Information navigation skills (doing online search, finding information online); (3) social skills (which information should or should not be shared); (4) creative skills (creating something new from information online); (5) mobile skills (how to download and install applications to mobile devices) and (6) Internet safety skills. Here, children's Internet safety might actually be increased if their own digital literacy is improved. If children are trained and educated with the objective to give them the skills to protect themselves in the online environment, this should have an effect on a number of Internet safety issues.

In Scotland's education system, digital and online safety is part of the Technologies curriculum within the Curriculum for Excellence (Education Scotland, 2013). The Curriculum for Excellence is a transformation programme in education in Scotland. It was developed "to enable each child or young person to be a successful learner, a confident individual, a responsible citizen and an effective contributor" (Education Scotland, 2013a). One of the examples of the local Scottish government effort to enhance pupils' digital skills and online safety was setting up the Digital Learning Team, which is responsible for providing support and advice to schools within the City of Edinburgh Council on digital technologies, including the area of Digital Safety (Digital Learning Team, 2013).

The growing concern and efforts made to address the challenges of upholding children's rights provisions and in providing children with safer places in the online environment have come at the right time, recognising the increasing numbers of children engaging in this environment. However, it can be seen that much focus has been given on 'safety' (i.e. the protection) as compared to the provision and participation aspects of children's rights.

### **3.4 Children's engagement in the online environment**

The aim of this section is to discuss various aspects related to children's engagement in the online environment. In doing this, the first subsection examines the dichotomies of offline and online. This is followed by a discussion of the common types of online activities in which children participate as well as the online opportunities and risks that they face while engaging on the Internet in the second and third subsections.

#### **3.4.1 Trends in children's media access and use**

In explaining the trends in children's media access and use, the 2015 and 2016 Ofcom survey findings provide the latest discoveries about the UK children's engagement with media and the Internet. The Office of Communication (Ofcom) is the UK's communication regulator, performing surveys and studies with regards to among other things children's and parents' usage of media (TV, mobiles, and other devices). The 2014 EU Kids Online survey results are another source. There are differences between these two surveys: the Ofcom survey is focused on the study of children's and parents' media usage in the UK only, while the EU Kids Online survey covers children's and parents' views on children's Internet usage in European countries (as of 2016, 33 countries have participated in the EU Kids Online network) (Mascheroni et al., 2015).

In terms of media usage, the 2016 Ofcom survey reported that the amount of time spent on the Internet by children has more than doubled between 2005 and 2016, from 4.4 hours to almost 13 hours per week for children aged 8 to 11, and from 8 hours to 20 hours for children aged 12 to 15 (Ofcom, 2015; Ofcom, 2016a). This indicates that Internet has become a large part of children's lives as they are increasingly exposed to the online environment, spending a lot of their time there.

Advances in technology have enabled the Internet to become accessible via various devices, not only personal computers, but also smartphones, tablets, and games consoles. The 2016 Ofcom survey further reported that children are more inclined to use tablets or mobile phones

compared to desktop computers and laptops to go online and play games. The number of children who use tablets or mobile phones has increased since 2013 for all children, even in younger age brackets. Advancements in technology have also changed children's media activities. The 2015 Ofcom report stated that watching television was the most popular activity for children aged between 8 to 15, followed by playing on consoles or computer games. However, in the 2016 Ofcom report, there is a clear change in this trend, where children now spending more time online than watching television.

Due to tablets and mobile phones, especially smartphones, children have widened their access to various kinds of content. This is in line with the proliferation of social media applications, such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, and more. In terms of sources of content, YouTube has become increasingly important; children, particularly those aged between 12 and 15 years old, prefer to watch YouTube videos rather than TV channels. Children also use the Internet as their main source of reference to look for information. In this case, traditional Google searches, Wikipedia, YouTube, Google image searches, and Siri (a built-in application on Apple devices) are the applications that are most used by children (Ofcom, 2016). The number of children aged 12 to 15 years old who used SNSs in 2015 was almost twice of those in 2007 (74% vs 40%). A comparison was made between various SNSs accessed by 12 to 15 year olds, revealing that even though Facebook was the SNS most commonly accessed by children in and up to 2010, fewer children were accessing it from 2012 to 2015. Children's interest in engaging in other new SNSs platforms, for example Instagram or Snapchat, is the reason for this (Ofcom, 2016). Overall, more children have become engaged with social media and through this they tend to explore various applications and interests.

#### **3.4.2 Online opportunities and problematic situations**

Children's engagement in the online environment exposes children to both opportunities and problematic situations on the Internet. This leads children to experience both positive and negative situations online, where, according to Livingstone (2008), such experiences are

interconnected. For example, meeting a stranger could lead to both a positive experience (meeting someone that could enrich their life); however it could be risky if the strangers had bad intentions regarding children. Smahel and colleagues (2014) list types of online risks: a lack of privacy and misuse of personal information, cyberbullying, meeting strangers online and offline, and exposure to harmful content are amongst them. The 2015 Ofcom survey reports that there has been an increase in the number of children who report that they have received advice about online risks – particularly from their parents - compared to 2014 (Ofcom, 2015). In addition, the number of children making contact online with strangers decreased in 2015, compared to 2014 (Ofcom, 2015). Data from the Ofcom 2015 survey also revealed children's online safety practices. Online safety practices refer to actions performed to ensure safety: for example, blocking messages from strangers, changing privacy settings, blocking junk emails or pop-up adverts, or reporting inappropriate content. Surprisingly, the 2015 Ofcom report concluded that the number of children who have actually practised the online safety tasks is not even half the number of children who acknowledged that they are aware of the practice. This is cause for concern, as children may take their safety for granted.

Other than communicating through SNSs, playing games online is another way children are exposed to communicating with strangers: note that playing games is one of the most popular online children's activities (Livingstone et al, 2014). The accessibility of games (online or offline) using various devices, and the ability to play individually or in groups, could be one of the reasons why gaming has become one of the most popular activities. The 2015 Ofcom survey indicates that the number of children playing online games increased as age increases and boys are more commonly engaged with such activities than girls. Despite concerns about the possibility of children communicating with strangers, which leads to the possibility of them being harmed, the 2015 Ofcom survey demonstrates that the number of children who play games alone is much higher compared to those who play with friends or strangers. With regard to sharing personal information, the only data available in the 2015 Ofcom survey show that, compared to 2014, children aged 12 to 15 years old are more willing to share their personal information online than young children (photos, location, contact details, and activities), but

only with their friends. Only a small portion of those surveyed said that they do not mind other people accessing their personal information. Even though the 2014 EU Kids online surveys, reported that children's level of digital skills is slowly rising – and that certain risks such as cyberbullying and viewing negative user-generated content increased from 2010 to 2014 – there have been none to moderate increases in risk areas, such as receiving sexual messages and contact with strangers, which was one of the biggest online risks faced by children in 2010 (Livingstone et al, 2014a).

In terms of the opportunities of engaging in the online environment, studies carried out by Palfrey and Gasser (2008), Livingstone and Brake (2010), and Peter and Valkenburg (2011) confirm that children who have experience of the Internet like to experiment and reinvent their identities using various mediums of expression, such as through YouTube and blogging. They have multiple personal identities that can be created via multiple SNSs simultaneously, and can be changed anytime and anywhere. Consciously, they self-disclose and self-express their identity; these activities involve the sharing of personal information (Gross and Acquiti, 2005; Livingstone, 2008; Palfrey and Gasser, 2008; Mesch and Baker, 2010). This is seen as an opportunity that children gain through their participation in social networking (Livingstone and Bober, 2004). In this context, children are seen as active social agents in shaping “the structures and processes around them” through their active participation in social networking (Morrow, 2011, p. 16). Children's online participation encourages social skills improvement such as taking turns during play, sharing and compromising, and being able to understand their friends' feelings (Bauman and Tanisha, 2009).

This section has discussed the current trends in terms of children's use of media and what exposure do children have to certain (adult defined) risks, as well as the benefits that they gain. The next section will discuss the relationships between children and ‘the actors’ of the Internet and how these relate to children's online privacy.



### **3.5 Children and online privacy issues**

This section discusses current studies researching online privacy and the gaps found in the studies. The first subsection discusses children's privacy issues in child-parent relationships followed by the potential privacy invasion from providers of the online platform in the second subsection.

#### **3.5.1 Studies on privacy and SNS**

In terms of studies on privacy and SNSs, much focus has been given on: individual's concerns about online privacy, information management, and disclosure strategies on SNSs (Harris et al, 2003; Gross and Acquisti, 2005; Dwyer et al, 2007; Marshall et al, 2008; Tufekci, 2008; Young and Quan-Haase, 2009; Vicknair et al, 2010). The focus is due to the privacy paradox – a contradiction between privacy attitudes and the behaviours of SNS's users (Barnes, 2006). In other words, the privacy paradox refers to situation where SNSs users continue disclosing and exposing their personal information or private lives despite the 'concern' they have voiced about their privacy. This creates interest among researchers who want to understand the relationship between privacy concerns and information disclosure on SNS. The second relates to employers accessing applicants' SNS profiles for recruitment (Alge et al, 2006; Dillon et al, 2008; Lukaszewski et al, 2008).

The literature review also shows that studies on privacy and its relation with SNSs have been focused more on adults and teenagers or young people (aged 13 to 18), and less on young children (Moscardelli and Liston-Heyes, 2004; Gross and Acquisti, 2005; Moscardelli and Divine, 2007; Gray and Christiansen, 2009; boyd and Marwick, 2011). One of the reasons is the focus that has been given to privacy concerns in terms of using SNSs (Houghton et al., 2010; Otlmann, 2010; Netter et al., 2011; Strauß et al., 2013), where the users largely consist of adults and teenagers rather than young children. Another possible reason is the methodological challenge that researchers face in conducting a study with young children (Ólafsson et al., 2014). When conducting research with children, the researcher needs to adhere to ethical guidelines, including information consent, access, power inequalities,

confidentiality, and protection (Mishna et al., 2004; Einarsdottir, 2007). The details of these ethical requirements will be discussed in the next chapter of this thesis.

### **3.5.2 Studies on children's online privacy and SNSs**

In spite of the lack of data about young children's online privacy as argued by Brown and Pecora, (2014); Mascheroni and colleagues (2015), Byrne and Burton (2017), a study by Lobe (2014) shows that effort has been made towards understanding children's perceptions of what constitutes the meaning of privacy online, how their online privacy could be compromised, and how their personal data can be misused. Lobe's research was conducted with children aged 9 to 16 years old in nine European countries, including the UK.

The results of Lobe's study show that children understand the risks that sharing personal information can pose, and that they are also aware of how much information they want to reveal about themselves. In terms of the SNS disclosure issue, the children in her study viewed Facebook as the least trustworthy and thus least private SNSs compared to other social media, (for example Instagram, Skype, or Twitter), as these applications reveal less personal information compared to Facebook. The problems with Facebook's privacy settings were also highlighted by the children in Lobe's study: that Facebook automatically resets users' privacy settings without informing users and the complexity of its privacy settings were among the reasons why the children in Lobe's study found it difficult to familiarise themselves with Facebook and use it efficiently. The same issue was revealed and highlighted by boyd (2014) and Marwick and boyd (2014) who argue that Facebook's privacy settings are confusing.

In terms of photo and video sharing and tagging practices, the children in Lobe's study were of the view that this practice is acceptable or at least not inherently negative, even though it could lead to unwanted photo sharing by peers or third parties. However, there were children in the study who raised concerns about the possible harm that could occur due to the practice of photo sharing, such as the creation of false profiles with pictures taken from SNSs. Password sharing among peers was highlighted in this study. Even though many children in

the study stressed the importance of keeping passwords private, some of the children found this to be acceptable for them to share it with their friends to prove their loyalty to their peers.

Lobe's study also traced the strategies performed by children in order to protect their online privacy. They practiced common protection strategies: for example, using privacy settings, segregating types of information to share with different groups of peers, and being vigilant in withholding contact and location information. In addition, the children in this study performed profile screenings and consulted mutual friends to verify the authenticity of the sender. However, there is clearly a difference in the protection strategies adopted by the children in this study compared to those in boyd and Marwick's (2014). Study focusing on participants aged 13 to 19 years old, boyd and Marwick's (2014) study found that children used social strategies, by, for example, encoding messages (social steganography) and jokes, in ways that are only understandable to their peers. Comparing boyd and Marwick's (2014) and Lobe's studies, the difference in how participants handled protection strategies could be due to their experience. Young people are generally more experienced in handling situations on SNSs, which helps them be creative in terms of protection strategies.

Overall, the children in Lobe's study had knowledge and awareness of what constitutes the meaning of privacy online, how their online privacy could be compromised, and how their personal data could be misused. They seemed aware that disclosing too much information made them more vulnerable to data misuse, and they adopted various strategies to protect their privacy online, even though these strategies were not as advanced as those posed by boyd and Marwick's participants.

Lobe's study closed the gaps that were highlighted earlier in terms of the lack of studies on privacy focused on children less than 13 years of age. In addition, her study used qualitative methods; previous studies on privacy have often been conducted with solely quantitative methods. Nonetheless, even though Lobe's study was conducted with children aged 9 to 16

years old, no specific findings were provided based on more specific age ranges, for example 9-11 years old, which is the focus of my study.

### **3.5.3 Children's privacy issues in child-parent relationships**

The topic of Internet parental mediation emerged while reviewing the literature on children's engagement with the Internet. This subsection explains previous studies conducted in this area and how the issues of privacy arose in child-parent relationships with regards to children's engagement with the Internet.

#### **(a) Types of Internet parental mediation strategies**

The role of parents in children's online engagement is typically influenced as most activities happen at home. Parents' concern about their children's safety while being online has led parents employing various Internet parental mediation strategies. According to Warren (2001), parental mediation refers to 'any strategy parents use to control, supervise or interpret media content for children' (p.212).

A body of literature has emerged on 'parental mediation', which discussed parents' interventions in their children's use of television (see studies by Valkenburg and colleagues (1999), Slattery and colleagues (2001), Warren and colleagues (2002), Warren (2005)). There were three common parental mediation strategies of television – active mediation, restrictive and co-viewing (Valkenburg and colleagues, 1999). In active mediation, parents discuss the content of the television programs with their children. In restrictive mediation, parents limit the time and television program and co-viewing refers to the television watching as family activity. Debates and comparisons were made to find out whether the same mediation strategies were used regarding children's use of television were used in line with the advancement of the Internet. As argued by Livingstone and Helsper (2008), the conditions are different, yet the mediation strategies that were used are still applicable in the context of the Internet. Nikken and Jansz (2014) suggested that there are a few considerations to take into account when applying the existing traditional types of mediation to Internet usage. First, there is the use of the Internet that requires high levels of interaction between child and device, in which,

according to Nikken and Janz (2014), the new Internet mediation needs to be introduced as the existing mediation strategies may not suffice to cater to the issues that exists. Second is the complexity of the Internet as a place of multiple activities. This could create a confusion among parents on how to guide children through these online activities. Third is the mobility and portability aspects of the media: for example, children use the Internet in their bedrooms and in school (Ofcom, 2012). Thus it might be challenging for parents to apply certain types of mediation as their children use media in solitude. Fourth is the age factor, as parents may need to change their mediation according to their child's age, as older children may exert autonomy with regards to their Internet usage.

The EU Kids Online findings identified five types of Internet parental mediation strategies, which also include the use of technical tools. They are active-co use, active mediation, restrictive mediation, monitoring, and technical restriction (Livingstone et al, 2012). Active mediation involves parents' initiatives in discussing online safety with children (how and what to do in any worrying situation that might happen). Active co-use mediation of a child's internet safety is similar to active mediation, but in this case parents are present or sharing online activities with their children. In restrictive mediation, parents set rules in terms of time, access, or type of online activities their children can engage in. Monitoring involves parents' close surveillance of what online activities their children undertake, such as checking children's social networking accounts or emails. Finally, with technical restriction, parents will use tools such as filtering software to limit or filter their children's online activities. In this study, the active and active co-use will be referred as fully supportive Internet mediation strategies while the other three mediation refers to less supportive Internet mediation strategies based on the description above.

#### **(b) Parents' concerns on children's online engagement**

Children's involvement in the online environments creates tensions between them and their parents (Livingstone and Helsper, 2008); parents are concerned about the safety of their children online, such as the possibility of meeting strangers who could be online predators or

paedophiles (Schrock and boyd, 2008). This is often used as a reason for limiting children's participation in online spaces (Valentine, 2004). The rapidity of the Internet's development, media panics, and parents' lack of knowledge about Internet were factors that lead to parents' perception that the Internet is an unsafe place for children (Livingstone, 2009). In the discursive analysis conducted by Willet (2015) to determine the construction of the notion 'good parenting', findings indicate that the media defined 'good parent' '[as] one who understands, assesses, guides, monitors, and regulates their children's online activities' (p.1072), which is associated with monitoring and surveillance. Parents' concerns about online risks have resulted in the high use of censorware and surveillance tools at home (Nolan et al, 2009). This censorware has various functionalities: it is not only used as a filter to block certain sites, but it also provides parents with details on children's online activities (which sites they visited, for how long, the frequency of visit, and other information). Using the terms of children's safety and parental responsibility, the marketers justify that the act of spying on children via their online activities (covert surveillance) is acceptable even without children's consent and knowledge. However, Nolan and colleagues (2009) and Shmueli and Blencher-Prigat (2010) see this as an invasion of children's privacy.

Kerr and Stattin (2000) and Marx and Steeves (2010) argue that covert surveillance by parents does not help develop positive communication between them and their children, as it does not encourage children to share or self-disclose their activities to their parents voluntarily. Subsequently, failure to develop positive communication between children and their parents will have a negative impact on the trust between them (Kerr and Stattin, 2000). Rooney (2010) argues that spying on children's online activities shows that parents have a problem trusting or having confidence in their child. According to Mayer and colleagues' (1995) trust involves the positive 'expectation' that the trustee (in this case children) will perform a particular action that is important to the trustor (parents), irrespective of the trustor's ability to control or monitor the trustee. This suggests that control or monitoring is not needed when trust is in place. Overall, whilst not denying the benefits that surveillance tools bring to parents in terms of safety and in reducing the risks explained in the previous section, the act of surveillance

(particularly covert) is argued to bring disadvantages in terms of children's long-term psychological well-being, to not improve communication between children and parents, and to invade children's privacy (Kerr and Stattin, 2000; Nolan et al, 2009; Marx and Steeves, 2010; Rooney, 2010; Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat (2010)).

Whilst the effectiveness of Internet parental mediation strategies is still being explored, studies carried out by Livingstone and Helsper (2008), Kirwil and colleagues (2009), and Garmendia and colleagues (2012) show that restrictive and monitoring mediation have a significant relationship to risk. For example, such mediation limits the act of disclosure of information and other potentially risky behaviours, such as meeting new online friends (Lwin et al, 2008). However, while these two strategies are effective in reducing risk, they also effect the opportunities available to children in terms of their involvement in various potentially beneficial online activities and skills (Livingstone and Helsper, 2008; Garmendia et al, 2012).

Children's engagement on the Internet includes how they deal with privacy in the online environment. The practice of autonomy can be seen in children's engagement with SNSs, where they create various strategies: for example, the use of privacy settings or employing online audience management strategies, and subsequently create their own boundaries in order to obtain privacy (boyd, 2008; boyd and Marwick, 2011, Lobe, 2014). Children exert their autonomy to have privacy particularly from their parents. In order to show the correlation between parents' active mediation strategy and levels of children's online disclosure of sensitive information, a study conducted by Lwin and colleagues (2008) found that this mediation strategy limited the act of disclosure of sensitive information. However, a study by Garmendia and colleagues (2012) indicates otherwise: the active mediation strategies does not show significant differences in terms of children's exposure to online risks compared to the restrictive and monitoring mediation, which supports studies by Livingstone and Helsper (2008) and by Kirwil and colleagues (2009).

### **(b) Children's views of their parents' Internet parenting style**

Finally, we discuss criticisms regarding the Internet parental mediation research. Clark (2011) commented that too much focus has been given to parents' responses to the negative effects of the media, compared to interventions to improve their relationships with children. In addition, Haddon (2015) is of the view that children's views are often excluded in the parental mediation research. In addressing this gap, Haddon conducted a qualitative study of children aged 9 to 16 years old to understand how they evaluate advice that they have from their parents with regards to their Internet usage. Most children in his study were of the view that the advice on the Internet usage that they received from their parents was clear and justified. Nonetheless, there was a small number of children who disagreed and commented that the advice was less articulated, in such instances there was a lack of justification and the information was sometimes presented in an insensitive manner (for example through scolding by their parents when asking for advice). Haddon's study made a distinction between how young children (aged 9-10) and slightly older children (aged 11-13) respond to their parents' Internet mediation style. Younger children were more accepting of what their parents asked them to do and would ask their parents' permission to go to certain websites or allow their parents to see what they did online. To these younger children, these practices are preventive measure for their online safety. On the other hand, children who are slightly older and older children (14 and above) were of the view that they should be more independent; they felt that their parents' frequent checks were not necessary or appropriate, and insisted that their parents should trust them more. Lack of privacy, especially when they communicated with their peers, was also mentioned by older children with regard to their parents' intervention or invasive checking. Notably, it is not that they want to hide anything from their parents, but that they want their privacy to be respected.

In sum, this subsection has discussed the types of Internet parental mediation strategies, the possibility of parental privacy invasion in 'protecting' their children to be 'safe' on the Internet, and recent studies that capture children's views of their parents' Internet parenting style. Parents' ability to practice a mediation strategy that will balance children's online protection, encourage children's autonomy and privacy, and at the same time encourage children's



participation would be beneficial to children and thus may improve child-parent relationships. The next subsection will discuss the potential of privacy invasion by the providers of the online platforms, which includes the social networking platforms (Facebook, Twitter and others) and online games service providers.

#### **3.5.4 Privacy invasion by providers of the online platform**

At a surface level, people see Google, Facebook, or the other SNS platforms such as Twitter, LinkedIn, Google+, and Instagram, to name a few, as mediums of communication and platforms through which to find information. However, what these online platforms do is more than that. As argued by Montgomery (2015), the driving force behind the proliferation of these online platforms is to collect, track, and monetise individual users' behaviour. People's interests, interactions, behaviours, and profiles have become substantial sources of revenue for the providers of online platforms. This is why these platforms have been designed to encourage people to post and revealed their activities online continuously; people share their interests, thus generating a vast amount of user data. The voluntary way in which personal information is revealed has led to the notion that users of SNSs are 'exhibitionists', who do not care about privacy (Samuelson, 2006). This includes the perception that children, especially teenagers, do not care about privacy (boyd and Marwick, 2014).

In discussing SNSs, the fact that Facebook is the most used SNS is undeniable. As reported in the 2016 Ofcom report, children ages 8-15 years old considered Facebook as their main social media profile (Ofcom, 2016a). Despite its widespread use, Facebook has repeatedly been linked to privacy violations that have led to regulatory actions and lawsuits and spawned a number of academic studies (boyd and Hargittai, 2011; Stutzman et al, 2012; Hull et al, 2011; Gibbs, 2015; Montgomery, 2015). Facebook and the other online platforms have violated privacy in various ways: First, relates to collection and tracking of information regarding users' behaviours, interests, and profiles and subsequently store and mine this data in behavioural data warehouses. In order to accommodate these purposes, these online platforms encourage users to reveal such information. One way to encourage this is by

fostering 'friendship-driven' forms of participation in the digital media culture, whereby adolescents engage in a variety of practices via the social media that lead to the act of voluntarily self-disclosing details about their social lives, behaviours, and interests (Ito et al, 2010). Here, the availability of 'tagging', 'check-in', 'like', 'share' and 'comment' functions offered by the providers of the online platforms further intensified the act of self-disclosure, thus allowing data to be tracked at a granular level (Montgomery, 2015). As reported by boyd (2008), in 2006 Facebook launched a feature called 'News Feeds' that made information about users more accessible and visible. Through this feature, Facebook listed every action performed by Facebook users (for example, who befriended whom, the groups joined by users, what was commented on by users, and so on). This feature, according to boyd (2008), has altered information flow as Facebook's users are unable to control their information being seen by others.

The second way in which the providers of these online platforms perform privacy violations is through dubious management of the security settings. For example, Facebook has a history whereby it automatically resets its privacy settings to public without alerting users to the changes (Sophos, 2011). According to Bonneau and Preibusch (2009), the providers of online platforms rarely publicise their privacy enhancing tools as they worry that it will increase users' awareness of privacy and thus lead to less information being shared publicly, reducing the richness of the content. In addition, even with the provision of internal privacy policies and user agreements, these are often confusing and they underscore the conflict between protecting consumers and maximizing providers' revenue (Montgomery, 2015).

The third and final way in which the providers of online platforms violate users' privacy is through tracking or browsing of the web users' activities without users' consent. This is performed, again by Facebook, by placing tracking cookies<sup>1</sup> on a user's computer to enable tracking for advertising purposes (Alsenoy et al, 2015; Gibbs, 2015). In addition, the use of

---

<sup>1</sup> A cookie is a file that is used to store a user's computer settings and previous browsing activities (Pierson and Hayman, 2011).

third party social plugins or widgets, for example Facebook's Like button, Twitter's Tweet button, or Google's Plus One button is said to contribute to privacy violations (Pierson and Heyman, 2011; Sar and Saggaf, 2014; Straub and Nentwich, 2013; Gibbs, 2015). A study by Sar and Saggaf (2014), which used Nissenbaum's CI assessment, showed that a breach of contextual integrity or privacy violation is performed by Facebook's Like button, Twitter's Tweet button, and Google's Plus One button when used: these plugins acted as an agent, tracking users' online activities across different sites (other than Facebook, Twitter, or Google). Additionally, the study also found that these SNSs failed to gain informed consent from their users regarding collecting and disseminating information.

On the whole this section has discussed how privacy violation can occur with regard to children's engagement on the Internet through monitoring and surveillance. Based on the above discussion, parents and the providers of online platforms are identified by studies as the main 'actors' violate children's privacy.

### 3.6 Guiding Concepts

The aim of this section is to discuss the guiding concepts that underpin this study. In doing so, this section will first summarise the problems derived from the literature as discussed in **Chapter 2** and the previous sections of this chapter. This is followed by an explanation of the research questions set out in this study. Finally, this section will discuss the potential relationships between the key concepts found based on the literature review carried out.

As explained in **Chapter 1**, the essence of this study relates to how children manage their privacy in the online environment. Further reading on children and the Internet revealed several gaps that this study could fill. The first relates to the fact that less attention has been paid to the significance and value of children's privacy as compared to study on privacy to adults (Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat, 2010). Furthermore, more qualitative studies involving the voices of children under the age of 13 years old are needed; most of the previous studies in this area have been conducted using quantitative methods with older children or teenagers.

The other issue as discussed in the first section of this chapter is the lack of emphasis in upholding children's rights provisions in the online environment. This study concurred with Livingstone and the children's rights campaigners and advocates that much effort is needed in upholding all aspects of the children's rights agenda (protection, participation and provision), particularly in the online environment. This is due to the fact that children's rights provisions also include the protection of children's online privacy. Encouraging children to participate actively in this environment will result in their gaining more knowledge and skills and thus helping them in managing their privacy, which might ultimately also serve to increase their online safety

The topic of Internet parental mediation emerged while reviewing the literature on children's engagement with the Internet, which is associated with children's privacy. However, even though there is a growing body of literature on Internet parental mediation, most of it highlights the impact of parental attitudes and parenting regulations on children's use of the Internet. More discussion is needed in terms of the association between Internet parental mediation and children's privacy. In discussing Internet parental mediation, parents will often associate

with the terms 'safety and protection'; that is to say that monitoring is needed in order 'protect children' from being harmed in the online environment. Several questions are raised here regarding whether young children are aware of their right to privacy? Do young children value their privacy? Who else other than their parents that are potentially could violate children' privacy while they engaging on the Internet? How do they know that their parents or the other 'actors' on the Internet have violated their privacy? How do they assert their autonomy to protect their online privacy? To what extent does a focus on protection limits children ability to learn how to navigate the online environment in a safe way and to enjoy its benefits? In order to answer all of these questions, I have summarised them into one general question, which is the first Research Question for this study:

RQ 1: What are children's views on privacy in online environment?

The second and third research questions below are related to the topic of Internet parental mediation and privacy.

RQ 2: What are parents' views of online privacy? Are children's views of online privacy influenced by their parents' views of online privacy?

RQ 3: What are the benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parental mediation strategies for children's online privacy?

**Section 3.4.2**, above, discussed the association between Internet parental mediation and privacy. It can be seen that certain Internet parental mediation strategies, for example a monitoring mediation approach, is in fact a potential parental privacy invasion and that parents justify the use of this approach in the name of 'safety'. Internet parental mediation is closely related to how children are able to exert their autonomy. This can be seen in the active co-use and active mediation, where children were given opportunities to explore the Internet without being monitored and restricted, in terms of time and content, while on the Internet. However, there is still an element of privacy invasion in the active co-use mediation strategy as parents are present or sharing online activities with their children. This is why the third question was selected: it relates to how the values of privacy, the safety of children, and children's autonomy

in navigating the Internet should be balanced.

The other key concept that will be used in this study relates to Nissenbaum's CI, as discussed in **Chapter 2** of this thesis. With CI, privacy is assessed contextually and stresses adherence to the expected norms of information flow specific to that context, failing which will constitute a violation of privacy (Nissenbaum, 2010). According to Nissenbaum (2010), the CI framework is able to guide privacy assessment by asking the question: "Does the practice in question violate any context-relative information norms?" (p. 148). She notes that these norms are characterised by four elements, namely: *Context*, *Actors*, *Attributes*, and *Transmission Principles*, as key parameters in shaping the governing of informational norms. The first element, *Context*, refers to background, situation, settings, or "circumstances in which an act is prescribed for a subject" (Nissenbaum, 2010: 141). Children's participation on the Internet could be an example of the *Context*. As context is a "construction of roles, activities, norms and values" (p.133), children's online participation could be as students, consumers, or online gamers, while the activities involved could include content-based activities (the use of the Internet for schoolwork), communication-based activities (instant messaging), and peer-participant activities (the disclosure of information on SNSs) (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Runnel, 2012). Norms that exist in this context could relate to the behaviour of voluntarily self-disclosing of their personal information such as pictures, age, and interests, etc.

The second element of CI is *Actors*, (for example individual(s), committees, organizations) - these are "senders of information, recipients of information and information subjects" (p. 141). In the context of this study, the *actors* could include all parties involved with the children's participation on the Internet, such as parents, siblings, peers, third party site administrators, or unknown Internet users. The third element, *Attributes*, refers to the types of information involved in a certain context. As such, in the context of this study, *attributes* refers to the children's personal information, hobbies and interests, their current and past activities, lists of acquaintances, and location and time of access. All of this information can be obtained once children engage on the Internet, particularly on the SNSs. Finally, the fourth element is *Transmission Principles*, which refers to the "terms and condition on the flow of information"

(p.141). Confidentiality, which refers to the prohibition of sharing information that someone has about others, is one example that could relate to the transmission principle.

CI stresses privacy as an expectation. Thus, in the context of this study, this refers to the expectations based on two perspectives. The first expectation is about the children's privacy expectations towards the 'actors' of the Internet (parents, the online platform providers, friends, and strangers) while engaging in online activities. For example, children that are exposed to restrictive and monitoring mediation, might have different privacy expectations compared to those who are exposed to active mediation strategies. Children might expect to navigate the Internet without being monitored by their parents and their friends will not disclose any information so as to hide it from their parents. The second perspective relates to parents' expectations regarding children's engagement on the Internet based on the mediation strategy adopted. This includes the value that the parents themselves place on privacy, in order to see the extent to which that value is being handed down to their children. Parents who employ active mediation strategies might expect their children to share and discuss their online activities willingly with them, while parents with less autonomy-support mediation strategies might expect their children not to engage with various SNSs without their consent.

Overall, this section has summarised the problems and gaps found in the literature and has explained how the adopted theories will be applied in this study in order to answer the research questions that has have been set.

### 3.7 Chapter conclusion

Overall this chapter highlights the gaps found in the review made on children's engagement on the Internet and its relationships to the online privacy. One major finding from this review is that there are relatively few studies that give the opportunity for children to voice their concerns, specifically about their privacy with regards to their engagement on the Internet. This is what this study is all about, to see how children view privacy from the context of their engagement on the Internet, and whether they feel that their privacy has been breached by the Internet parental mediation approach exercised by their parents. This study also investigates the specific norms children use to decide whether it is acceptable for the other 'actors' of the Internet have access to their '*attributes*' without their knowledge.

The following chapter further details the methodological framework of this study.



## Chapter 4: Research Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

The last two chapters developed ideas from the literature related to privacy and matters of children's participation on the Internet. Three main key concepts – privacy, children's rights, and autonomy – were introduced; these concepts are central to the theoretical foundations of this study. The aim of this chapter is to describe and provide a rationale for the research design used in this study in order to answer the research questions, as set out in the previous chapter. The research questions are:

RQ 1: What are children's views of online privacy?

RQ 2: What are parents' views of online privacy? Are children's views of online privacy influenced by their parents' views of online privacy?

RQ 3: What are the benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parental mediation strategies for children's online privacy?

In answering the above research questions, 57 pupils aged 9 to 11 years old (Primary 6 and Primary 7) from one school in Edinburgh participated in this study. A school was used to access children, as it facilitated recruitment of child participants. Additionally, 8 parents of the pupils (from the same school) participated in this study. A qualitative method was selected, as this study seeks to understand, in detail, particular phenomena from the perspectives of people who are experiencing it - in this case children and parents about their view of online privacy. The data were collected from August 2014 to March 2015, primarily through focus groups and semi-structured one-to-one interviews, resulting in the identification of three related themes: *Online Environment as an Unsafe Place*, *What Privacy Means to Children and Parents* and *Trust* – each is discussed in Chapter 5, 6 and 7, respectively.

This chapter is organised as follows: **Section 4.2** begins with a discussion of the research paradigm within which this research is situated. **Section 4.3** offers a discussion of the selection criteria for the participants in this study, and criteria for the fieldwork venue. This is followed by an overview (**Section 4.4**) of the data collection methods used and the rationale for decisions made regarding the methods and venue selected. **Section 4.5** discusses my experience in conducting the pilot study, and what was initially the 'actual data collection' fieldwork with the Primary 4 pupils, which later became the extended pilot study. Learning from the pilot and extended pilot study, I developed strategies to enhance my fieldwork with Primary 6 and Primary 7 pupils; this is explained in **Section 4.6**. I also share my experience of dealing with the parent participants and discuss the challenges faced in gathering data from them. **Section 4.7** discusses the overall process of how the data analysis was carried out. This includes data protection, the coding processes that led to the development of the themes, and the steps taken to establish the trustworthiness of the data obtained. **Section 4.8** offers a discussion of the ethical considerations for this study. **Section 4.9** concludes.

## 4.2 Epistemological stance and research paradigm

The ratification of the UNCRC provided new impetus for research involving children, which has led to a new paradigm in the sense that children are now seen as potential research subjects (Christensen and Prout, 2002; McNamee and Seymour, 2012). In contrast, earlier notions viewing children as objects of research, came from the perspectives of adults - whether parents, teachers, or other people involved with children. The new approach to conducting research with children perceives them as competent social actors: children's perspectives should be taken into consideration and children should be seen as active participants (Broström, 2012). Involving children and young people has become an important agenda in order to understand their views and experiences so that information about their situation can be gained, analysed, and implemented. This ontological position of seeing and constructing children as social actors has led to a proliferation of studies involving children and young people.

James and Prout's (1990) paradigm for the sociology of childhood was referred to in order to support the overall framework of this study. The sociology of childhood is grounded upon three theoretical assertions. First, childhood is recognised as a social construction, stipulating how adults should see children and what should be expected from them, which varies depending on culture and time. This means that understandings of childhood are not the same everywhere, and children's roles and activities are differentiated according to the cultural context. The second assertion relates to the notion of childhood as a social construct dependent on other social dimensions, for example class, ethnicity, and gender. Finally, James and Prout's sociology of childhood asserts that children are seen as active, creative social agents in the construction of their lives. In line with these views, this study is epistemologically framed by the constructionist paradigm that views the "child as a subjective, contextual, self-determined and dynamic being" possessing his or her perspective (Greig et al, 2013, p. 65). A positivist paradigm, on the other hand, views children as objective and measureable, in which research seeks to establish the truth or falsity of a theoretical statement (hypotheses) (Greig et al, 2013)

Knowledge, in a social constructionist paradigm, is seen as socially formed by people involved in the research process, and as such researchers should attempt to understand the complex world of lived experiences from the points of view of those who live it (Schwandt, 2000; Guba and Lincoln, 2005). As such, any knowledge gained from this research will not be the absolute truth; rather, it will be the constructed perspectives of those participating. Following the constructionist research paradigm, I was more inclined towards approaching the study qualitatively - the study is exploratory in nature and seeks to provide a detailed understanding of particular phenomena from the perspectives of people who experience them (Lobe et al, 2008; Threlfall, 1999). More precisely, this study aims to provide a detailed understanding of online privacy issues from the perspectives of children primarily and secondly their parents. To support this aim, a qualitative approach was selected as the results produced are able to provide a rich description of the particular phenomena being studied (Sallee and Flood, 2012; Braun and Clarke, 2014). As argue by Dowd (2011) who also use qualitative method in their research on privacy for young adults:

*“Adopting a qualitative approach also allows us to work inductively: rather than limiting the research by imposing predefined, overarching definitions of privacy we instead allow understanding to emerge from the participants’ own accounts. This enables us to conceptualised privacy contextually, as Solove as argues in favour of.” (p. 83).*

Qualitative leaves more opportunity for what is not expected by the researcher. Mishna and colleagues (2004) suggest that qualitative research offers an “opportunity to tap into the richness of children’s thoughts and feelings about themselves, their environments and the world in which we all live” (p.450). Additionally, a qualitative approach was selected to address the research gap in the area of children and online privacy research, as based on the literature in **Chapter 3**, given that the survey method (quantitative) has dominated this area of research (Olafsson et al, 2013).

There are debates regarding the conduct of research with children, specifically whether such research should be conducted in a similar manner to adult-centered research. As argued by Punch (2002), research with children is potentially different from research with adults. This difference is due to various reasons: First, it relates to how children have been positioned in

the adult society; due to their marginalisation in society, children are not used to be treated the same way as adults. Second is children's inherent difference from adults, in terms of how and what they think about particular things or situations. Boyden and Ennew (1997) argue that there can be particular vocabularies for children, and they may only want to participate in research fieldwork for a limited time, and the researcher needs to be aware of this. The third and final reason as to the difference in research with children compared to adults is related to adults' perceptions of the children themselves.

The view that research with children is different compared to research with adults could then be related to the situation of 'messiness' that exists in doing real-world research with children, as suggested by MacKay and Watson (1999). The 'messiness' in this study includes seeking consent from various gatekeepers (for example, parents, school staff, and council) in order to gain access to schools and children, choosing appropriate methodology and techniques to elicit meaningful information from children in an ethical and effective manner, and the researcher's preparation of action to be taken with regard to any risks related to the disclosure of unpleasant online experiences by children. As posited by Mishna and colleagues (2004, p.462), conducting qualitative research involving children involves "unanticipated issues which may arise at any stage", which require the researcher to be reflexive and use wise judgement. These challenges will be further explained in **Section 4.5** and **Section 4.6**, below.

### 4.3 Participants and fieldwork venue

This section will explain the selection criteria for the participants in this study and the criteria for the fieldwork venue.

#### 4.3.1 Participants

Initially, children aged 7 to 9 years old were identified as the main participants for this study. This age range was selected based upon the recommendation made by the EU Kids Online studies that focus should be on research with younger children (i.e. younger than nine years old) about online safety (Holloway et al, 2013). However, after rounds of 'challenging' focus group sessions with children aged 7 and 8 years old (Primary 4 pupils) at the outset of the fieldwork (this will be further explained in **Section 4.6**), it was decided that focus would be placed on children aged 9 to 11 years old only, i.e. Primary 6 (hereafter P6) and Primary 7 (hereafter P7) pupils. The selection of this age range is related to the fact that this age group's exposure to online social networking is higher compared to children aged 9 years or below. Having participants who are actively engaged in online social networking is important in the context of this study, due to the research questions' focus on views of online privacy and Internet parenting styles.

Other than children, the parents (one of the father, the mother, or the carer) of pupils from this school were also participants of this study. I purposively sampled parents from the children in P6 and P7 and included parents from different social-economic statuses as participants. While accessing parents proved difficult (see **Section 4.6**), 8 parents agreed to participate in this study. Two of the parent participants were male and the rest were female; the participants were aged between 30 and 45 years old.

As will be demonstrated in the findings chapter, the interviews with the parents resulted in considerable depth of data and a breadth of parenting mediation strategies. The latter was unexpected but particularly welcome for this study, as it allowed for diversity amongst parental approaches and their implications to be explored. These findings were

subsequently considered alongside other research studies that had explored parental mediation strategies, providing further support for the emerging findings. While a further study with extended parental participation would be recommended (see **Section 8.4**), the relatively small number of parental participants recruited resulted in a depth and breadth of data pertinent to answering the research questions. I have summarised the information about the parents who participated in this study in **Table 4.1** below.

**Table 4.1: Parent participant information**

No	Parents Participants	Occupation	Academic Qualification	Child's Class
1	Lion's father	PhD Student	University	P7
2	Becca's mother	Housewife	University	P6
3	Christiano's mother	Teacher	University	P7
4	Minion's father	Not working	University	P7
5	Spy Guy's mother	Housewife	High school	P6
6	Danny's mother	Secretary	University	P6
7	Richie's mother	Housewife	University	P7
8	Elsa's mother	Housewife	High school	P6

#### **4.3.2 Data collection venue**

The school and participants' homes were selected as the main venues for data collection. This section will explain the reasoning behind these selections and the process involved prior to access.

##### **(a) School**

As argued by Horowitz and colleagues (2003) and Trapp and colleagues (2012), a school is a common research setting for involving children as research participants as it provides researchers access to a large number of children in one location. In Scotland, almost every child from aged 4.5 to 5.5 years old is required to attend school. Research in school settings increases the likelihood of reaching a range of children rather than research in extra-curricular settings (for example leisure groups or volunteer groups), where children usually

attend voluntarily and/or sporadically (Harris et al, 2015). In addition, the school has a mixture of pupils from different social-economic and cultural backgrounds. I envisaged this as beneficial for the study, as I would be able to recruit a diverse group of participants. Literature suggests that the socio-economic and cultural factors can impact on both access and social media and the Internet parental mediation strategies (Hasebrink et al, 2009). However, the data collected did not enough to make provisional conclusions related to the social-economic and cultural factors.

Research undertaken in school settings, however, has certain drawbacks. Gaining access to a school for research purposes is one of the main challenges in doing research in school settings (Isaksen and Roper, 2011; Horowitz et al, 2003). Such challenges include the need to go through various gatekeepers like the local authority and head teacher. For example, in this study, prior to approaching the school's head teacher, approval needed to be sought from the Edinburgh City Council (who required approval from the School of Social and Political Science's Research and Ethics Committee first).

Furthermore, and as discussed in **Section 4.5.2**, I acknowledged that maintaining a good working relationship with teachers and school staff was vital to conducting research in a school setting. The researcher needs to understand and adapt to the school's way of working. As such, I needed to consider the time of year for fieldwork, seeking to avoid busy periods and take into account the start of the school year (White, 2012).

Another drawback in doing research in school settings is that some children are excluded from schools or otherwise not present. Thus, while schools can provide access to a wide population of children, the sample is still not fully inclusive. When undertaking fieldwork in school, children may feel that they need to conform to school expectations, for example the need to give the 'right' answer, this can limit both fieldwork and the resulting data (Christensen and Prout, 2002; Morgan and colleagues, 2002).



The selection of school started after the University of Edinburgh's School of Social and Political Science (SSPS)'s Research and Ethics Committee accepted my ethics proposal in March 2014. I began by approaching five schools within the governance of Edinburgh City Council. The lists of schools proposed by the Edinburgh Council was based on my preference to conduct the study with a school in the urban area; I wanted to avoid rural areas issue of connectivity (for example Internet connectivity). Formal letters were sent to these schools and followed up with phone calls and emails to meet the head teachers personally. Initially, I intended to conduct my fieldwork in more than one school, as I envisaged obtaining more data from a larger number of child participants. However, realising the challenges and complexities that I faced in conducting fieldwork, as explained earlier, I decided to focus on only one school. The school was an access site rather than a case, and as the site did allowed the researcher to involve a considerable number of children. As detailed above, parental involvement in the research proved more limited.

While research conducted at one school limits the amount of data, focusing the fieldwork in this way allowed for commonality of context in terms of school peer culture, schools rules, advice and curriculum. The analysis could thus focus on the research questions, while such contextual issues were kept constant. In addition, focusing only on one school helped gather in depth data from groups and interviews, which multiple sites would make difficult in practical terms (Bonda, 2014). Using only one school as a fieldwork venue has also been applied such researchers as Gallager (2005), Petrie (2010), Bonda (2014), MacIsaac (2016) and Wanjiru (2016) in their studies with children. While the fieldwork was conducted in only one school, their research findings resulted in insightful contributions in their respective fields of study.

The participating school's initiative in taking part in the yearly United Kingdom (UK) Awareness on Internet Safety Day, reflected that the school is serious in promoting the Internet Safety awareness for the benefits of the children and parents. Among the activities conducted was the sharing of Internet Safety educational resources (Child Exploitation and

Online Protection (CEOP) Thinkuknow) with pupils and an Internet Safety meeting with parents. Apart from that, I envisaged that the school's commitment to use Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning and to safeguard and promote the welfare of the pupils in the school (as cited in the school's ICT policy), was another advantage for cooperating with this school.

A meeting was arranged between the head teacher, the ICT Coordinator, and myself prior to the fieldwork in order to understand the school's requirements and expectations. Among the matters discussed was the commencement date and the expected end date of the fieldwork, the venue, the selection process of the participants, and the incentives for the participants. I also explained what would happen if I encountered any concerns about risk or significant harm shared by participants, clarified any additional support needed for pupils with physical or learning disabilities, and other issues regarding the fieldwork and the study. During that meeting I also asked about the extent to which the topic of online privacy and Internet safety was discussed with pupils. I was informed that questions of online privacy and Internet safety were occasionally highlighted and discussed during the ICT classes, which are conducted once a week. As mentioned in the previous chapter, digital and online safety is part of the Technologies curriculum within the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence (Education Scotland, 2013). I was informed that the area of online safety was covered at different levels as shown in **Table 4.2** below:

**Table 4.2: List of Internet safety topics covered in school**

Topics Covered	Curriculum of Excellence Level				
	Early (Nursery – P1)	First (P2-P4)	Second (P5-P7)	Third	Fourth
<b>Cyberbullying</b>	x	x	x	x	
<b>Reporting Abuse</b>	x	x	x	x	
<b>Safe searching</b>	x	x	x	x	
<b>Personal information</b>	x	x	x	x	
<b>Social Media</b>	x	x	x	x	x
<b>Online etiquette</b>	x	x	x		
<b>Gaming</b>		x	x	x	x
<b>Email</b>		x	x	x	
<b>Phishing</b>		x	x	x	
<b>Digital Images/Video</b>			x	x	x
<b>Mobile phones</b>		x	x	x	
<b>File sharing</b>			x	x	x
<b>Copyright/Downloading</b>		x	x	x	x
<b>Online Grooming</b>			x	x	x
<b>Online Shopping</b>				x	x
<b>Sexting</b>				x	x
<b>Digital Footprint/Online Identity</b>				x	x

**(b) Participants' homes**

The initial plan was to do the interviews at the participants' homes since the home is the main venue where children used the Internet (Ólafsson et al., 2013). There are several advantages to conducting interviews at the participants' homes in the context of this study. First, I was interested to see how children communicate with the 'actors' in the online environments, while navigating their online activities and playing online games in their home settings. Additionally, this would allow me to observe the communication between parents

and children, which assisted in my understanding and influenced my subsequent analysis of how parents practiced their Internet parenting style. Second, the benefit of conducting the interview at the interviewees' houses was the added measure of control they might feel in their own territory. In this case, participants were free to decide when the interview was to be conducted in their house, and they were not required to travel.

However, despite these benefits there were several challenges to doing the interviews at the home (Bushin, 2007; Fargas-Malet et al, 2010; Hamalainen and Rautio, 2013). Research shows that conducting research with children at their home demands negotiation and consideration and is not always straightforward (Mayall, 2000; Jordan, 2006; Bushin, 2007; Hamalainen and Rautio, 2013). The presence of parents or family members if the interview with the child were conducted at home might affect the data provided; children might change what they say if their parents are present during the interview. As such, it is important to find a place where children feel comfortable and able to talk freely with the researcher (Valentine, 2001). Additionally, parents might feel uncomfortable having an outsider to come to their house to interview them and their child, as some people view their home as a private and intimate space (Hämäläinen and Rautio, 2013). This could be one of the reasons for the lack of parent participation in this study. As I will explain in a later section, based on the 42 interview invitation letters and consent forms that were sent to the parent participants, only one parent returned the form indicating that she was interested in being interviewed. Despite these challenges, I managed to get 8 parents to participate in this study. However, unlike the interviews with children, which took place at school, as a result of difficulties in trying to arrange meetings in any other place, all of the interviews with parents were conducted at the participants' house. I also acknowledged that I needed to consider my own safety in doing this. I activated my mobile Global Positioning System (GPS) function so that my family members were aware of my current location.

## 4.4 Overview of data collection methods

Various methods were used with children in this study to elicit their views on privacy. Focus groups and semi-structured individual interviews were selected as the main data collection methods. The reason for the use of various data collection methods was to gain richer data and a portrayal of a comprehensive picture while adding to the accuracy and truthfulness of the data obtained (Madill et al, 2000). With all methods chosen, I needed to be critically aware of individual methods' strengths and weaknesses, as explained below.

### 4.4.1 Why focus groups?

Focus groups have been used widely in research involving children (Morgan et al, 2002; Horowitz et al, 2003; Andronikidis and Lambrianidou, 2010). By using focus groups, participants can collaboratively generate ideas and subsequently generate a "large amount of data" within a short period of time (Bryman, 2012; Rabiee, 2007). Valuable data can be generated based on observing participants' agreement and disagreement while the focus group is conducted (Morgan, 1996). There were two objectives to using focus groups with children in this study. The first objective was to enable them to discuss and articulate 'in their own words' their views on privacy. The literature in **Chapter 2** described how privacy is complex, multi-faceted, and abstract. As such, the focus group sought to generate a range of views and insights concerning the topic, such as understanding how children define privacy, whether or not privacy is important to them, and why it is. In relation to the issue of online privacy, this study sought to gain insight into children's knowledge of the 'actors' that exist in the online context: for example parents, siblings, friends, system administrators, and strangers. Such an understanding might assist in further considerations of how children view online privacy. As argued by Gibson (2012), children may feel comfortable in focus groups as conversations with peers is familiar. In light of this fact, the children's focus groups sessions were conducted prior to the individual semi-structured interview sessions. This sequence was chosen due to the second objective of using focus group with children: to develop a rapport with them to assist during the subsequent one-to-one semi-structured interviews. In addition, according to Christensen (2004), due to the number of children in the focus groups, the

power of the adult researcher is diluted which helps children want to later participate in interview sessions.

Conducting focus groups is not without its challenges. The moderator needs to know the best way to handle focus group participants to balance group dynamics (Morgan et al, 2002; Darbyshire, 2005). For example, one or two children might dominate the discussion, silencing some participants. Other potential challenges in conducting focus group relate to arrangements to ensure the presence of participants. **Section 4.5** and **Section 4.6** further describe my experience in arranging the focus groups.

In this study, the focus groups were conducted exclusively with children. There were attempts to conduct the focus groups with parents. Invitations were issued to and arrangements were made with the parents; however, there was only one parent who was interested in participating, which made me decide to call off the group and not employ this method with parents.

To facilitate the focus group session, I prepared a question guide (**Appendix 1**) that covered a range of the issues on privacy that I wanted the participants to discuss. Braun and Clarke (2013) suggest that the questions in a focus group guide should act as prompts to elicit discussions, in the sense that they stimulate participants to respond or to agree with each other. I used open-ended questions such as, 'What do you understand about privacy?' and probes with specific questions like, 'Do you think there is a difference between offline (at home or school) and online (Internet) privacy?'

#### **(a) Vignette**

There were various activities used during the focus group sessions, including vignettes. I envisaged that the use of stimulating material, for example a vignette, print images, or video clips, would foster discussion between participants (Colluci, 2007). Vignettes use short stories which normally place fictional characters or scenarios in context in order to allow the researcher to explore issues arising from the situations systematically (O'Dell et al, 2012).

One of the challenges in conducting focus groups is the lack of participants' confidentiality, especially when discussing sensitive topics. Thus, using vignettes allows the researcher to depersonalise the discussion (Hughes, 1998). The use of vignettes, however, is not suitable for accessing participants' actual practice. Instead, vignettes are useful for researchers who have an interest in exploring participants' perceptions and beliefs, which is what this study is concerned with (O'Dell et al, 2012).

Considering its practicality and simplicity in eliciting views from the participants, a vignette was constructed around a story relating to children's use of the Internet and privacy. The vignette, as set out in **Appendix 1**, is about Emily, age 11, who wants to open her own Facebook account. Facebook was selected for this vignette, as the EU Kids online study in 2011 revealed that the use of this social networking platform amongst children has dominated compared to other SNSs (Livingston et al, 2011). In this vignette, Emily is deliberating between telling her mother or not, and is afraid that her mother will not let her have an account. However, it turns out that her mother allows her to have the account on the condition that the mother is allowed to be her 'friend' on Facebook. The vignette also discusses how Emily dealt with common issues relating to her privacy while navigating her online account. The final part of this scenario discussed how Emily should handle her mother wanting to know everything about her activities on Facebook. There were questions about each scene to encourage dialogue between focus group participants, such as, 'What should Emily do to open her Facebook account?', 'Who should Emily add as her friends?', 'Should Emily add her mother as her Facebook friend?', and so on. In addition, the questions used assisted in stimulating children to answer the first research question (What are children's views of online privacy?) through discussion of questions like: 'What should Emily do should her mother wants to know everything about Emily's online activities?' or 'What do you think about Emily's privacy, if her mother would like to know what she did on the Internet?'.

#### 4.4.2 Individual semi-structured interview

Semi-structured interviews were used in this study, rather than structured or unstructured interviews. With a semi-structured interview, the researcher is able to seek clarification freely, compared to a structured interview. In a structured interview, each participant is asked the same questions and in the same order as all the other participants, which is similar to a spoken questionnaire (Doody and Noonan, 2013). This non-flexible approach was unsuitable for this study, as the study is an exploratory in nature and the use of this approach would limit participants in expressing their ideas and views. On the other hand, I choose to use the structured approach: as argued by Irwin and Johnson (2005), the structured interview format is a productive approach to use with children as for their guidance to tell their story. Here, the use of follow-up questions or other verbal queues would assist in eliciting children's responses (Gibson, 2012).

Whilst the objective of the focus groups was to obtain a brief understanding of children's views of privacy, the individual interviews would seek to elicit a more in-depth picture. Open-ended questions were used to further probe children about their experiences of online activities and their views of their parents' Internet parenting style, both of which were not covered during the focus group.

Similar to the focus group, in order to facilitate the interview sessions, I prepared a question guide (**Appendix 2**) that covered a range of the issues on privacy about which I planned to ask. The interview guideline's structure however is not rigid. I let participants to also help shape the discussion to ensure the interviews covers on activities and issues familiar, and relevant to them. There were three main topics that the interviews with children sought information about. First was about their engagement on the Internet. For example, what online activities do participants engage in, how long are they normally on the Internet and for what purposes, and what issues do they face when online? Second, the interview asked about their views on privacy. This included questions regarding views about online versus offline privacy, in which environment they think privacy is easy to achieve, and how they



manage their privacy between the 'actors' in those two environments, namely their parents, siblings, friends, system administrators, and strangers. Finally, the interviews sought to grasp children's feelings and views about their parents' Internet parenting mediation strategies and their relationships to children's views on privacy.

During the interview sessions with children, I trialled observations of children navigating SNS, drawing on netnography (online ethnography) approach. According to Kozinets (2010), netnography is similar to traditional ethnography methods using interviews and observation techniques; however, in netnography, data are collected in the online environment. To proceed with this stage of the research, I requested the head teacher's permission to use a tablet during the interviews with children at school. During this process, child participants were requested to show how they interacted on SNSs. For example, for child participants who had a SNSs profile, I requested that they show where the SNS's privacy settings were located, to understand better their awareness of the importance of privacy settings.

I acknowledged the benefits that the netnography method offered in providing the researcher with a greater understanding of how children interact with the online environment (Donkin et al, 2015). Despite this, I was unable to attain much information about children's online interaction with SNSs during the interviews. Some of the child participants mentioned that they forgot their Facebook and Instagram passwords. I then realised that conducting observation of children's interaction with SNSs was not as simple as I had previously thought. I recognised that this netnography approach would be benefitted from observing practice at child participants' homes, in a 'natural' environment.

Individual interviews were also conducted with parents. There were four main topics that the interviews sought to address. First was about the parents' own engagement on the Internet, and second was about parents' views on privacy. Both of these areas were important in order to see how parents' engagement on the Internet and views on privacy shaped their

Internet parenting styles, which was the third topic of discussion. I sought to understand how children's views on privacy and their practices on the Internet related to their parents' parenting styles and views on privacy. Finally, the interviews sought to address parents' knowledge about their children's engagement on the Internet.

## **4.5 The beginning of the study with children**

This section will explain my experience dealing with the children during the pilot study conducted, and what was supposed to be the 'actual data collection' fieldwork with the Primary 4 pupils, but which later became the 'extended pilot study'. However, prior to explain this, I will reflect how reflexivity assisted me during my study.

### **4.5.1 Reflexivity**

Finlay's (2002, p. 532) simple definition of reflexivity is "thoughtful, conscious self-awareness". According to Bowtell and colleagues (2013) and Jootun and colleagues (2009), reflexivity involves a continuous process of evaluation by identifying, considering, and questioning the influence of the researcher's values, positions and preconceptions within the study. To be a better researcher, one should be able to step back, constantly check, take a critical look at and be aware continuously of one's role in the research process, as this will influence the research findings. Reflexivity, according to King and Horrocks (2010, p.126), stems from the realisation that social researchers are often entangled "with emotions, theoretical and political commitments" during interactions with participants. Reflexivity is acknowledged as a tool to assist all (social) researchers' awareness of all of the potential issues that could arise throughout their research journey. With reflexivity, the researcher is prepared to analyse his or her own subjectivity and thus its influence on the research.

Reflexivity helps with bracketing, in the sense that the researcher remains open to the data collected and avoids misinterpretation that could influence the findings. By bracketing their personal views and preconceptions of the topic under study, the researcher can be honest, remain open and genuinely attend to the participants' views (Finlay, 2002; Speziale and Carpenter, 2007). Questions such as "what do I already know about this topic/idea", "what is the source of my knowledge" and "how does this topic influence my world view, knowledge and background?" are examples of pre-research reflexive questions. In answering "what do I need know about this topic/idea", I came across the complexity of privacy as discussed in the literature, which was discussed in **Chapter 2** of this thesis. In addition, despite realising

the challenges that I would face in dealing with children as my study participants, it became one of the main reasons that made me more passionate about this topic.

Practicing reflexivity, I considered how my personal history led to my interest in this topic. My experience as an information security officer influenced this study. As someone who is aware of the importance of securing personal data, I feel that it is vital to focus attention on ways to inform society, particularly children, with such knowledge and practice. This, however, led me initially to (over) emphasis children's safety, rather than being open to alternative or additional issues involving children.

The first step in practicing reflexivity in my study was to engage in self-reflection and dialogue at the outset of the study, to heighten my awareness and sensitivity towards the objectives of my research, the topic and my intended audience. This required me to be honest with myself about my biases and limitations, my knowledge of the topics and population of inquiry. I thought about my underlying assumptions of what I might find when exploring the topic. I assumed that it is difficult for children to achieve privacy, online and offline. In the offline environment, this could be due to factors such as the mediation strategy employed by their parents. In the online environment, the presence of the 'actors' - i.e. parents, peers, family members, teachers, the Internet service providers and all of the individuals that may be involved directly or indirectly in using the Internet as a medium of communication with children - could hinder privacy. I also assumed that parents' attitudes towards privacy influenced what their children think about privacy. These fundamental assumptions influenced the types of research questions I initially set in this study – I changed from setting the closed-ended research questions to be more open. Additionally, these assumptions also influenced how my recruitment materials were developed, and what I wanted to ask during the children's focus groups and individual interviews with parents and children.

As part of the research process, the researcher's values, life experiences, beliefs and perceptions influenced the study's design (Valandra, 2012). With regard to this, I asked myself, "How do my life experiences as a mother with children about that age of the child participants shape the way I experience other parent participants of my study?" Here, reflexivity assisted in recognising my role as both separate from the experiences of parent participants, as well as part of the collectively shared experiences of being a mother. I jotted down ideas about myself as a mother, and reminded myself of these as new insights and experiences emerged for consideration related to my interactions with the parent participants. By being someone who is not originally from Scotland also impacted the research. As the study was designed in the context of the Scottish education system, I was required to learn about and understand it, for example the Scottish National Curriculum (Curriculum for Excellence), school years and the context in which ICT is taught in schools in Scotland.

Overall, this subsection has discussed how reflexivity was used in this study. The next subsection will continue discussing my experience in conducting data collection with what was supposed to be the 'actual data collection' fieldwork with the Primary 4 pupils.

#### **4.5.2 Pilot study**

The aim of the pilot study was to familiarise myself with collecting information from children and to test the suitability of the activities to be conducted during the actual data collection phase. The pilot study was conducted in two sessions in April 2014 at my own house. It involved eight children ages 7 to 9 years old in the first session, and five children ages 9 and 11 years old in the second session of the pilot study. In total, nine of the pilot participants were Malaysian, three were Polish, and one was Syrian. Most of them were children of my acquaintances who live in Edinburgh city centre.

I conducted the session in the same manner I planned to do during the actual data collection phase. I started the session by introducing myself as the moderator and asked the children whether they understood the purpose of the group discussion. I explained that their

participation in the group discussion was on a voluntary basis and that they were allowed to opt-out of the group any time they wanted. I also created a group agreement, asking the pilot participants to write down their ideas about the 'dos' and 'don'ts' for the discussion.

In total, three activities were conducted during these two pilot sessions. I called the first activity the 'Skittles Games'. In this game, participants were asked to choose a number of Skittles sweets (a combination of red, purple, yellow and green). Based on the colours of the Skittle chosen, the participants were asked to write their ideas on Post-it notes. The blue sweet represented the question *What is privacy?*, the red sweet represented *Why do we need privacy?*, the yellow sweet represented *How is privacy achieved on the Internet?*, and finally the green sweet represented the question *What online activities are related to privacy?*. In the second activity, a few words related to privacy were written on papers. The participants were then asked to discuss those words. Finally, in the third activity, I went through a vignette (as per **Appendix 1**).

During the first session of the pilot study, two (the first and second) activities were conducted and two activities (the first and third activities) were conducted in the second session. Overall, the pilot sessions gave me practical experience of doing research with children. I realised that conducting focus groups is fun, but at the same time it is challenging when it comes to the process of transcribing. There were some participants who talked very quietly and I could not capture what they said, especially when other participants were talking at the same time. The use of notes (Post-it notes) helped me remember what had been said by the participants, and was especially helpful during the transcribing process. When conducting focus groups, it is good practice for the moderator to mention the names of the participants before the participants start to talk. This helps during the transcribing process, as the researcher can more easily recognise which participants the recorded conversation refers to. To discourage participants from talking at the same time, during the group agreement session, the moderator could suggest that the participants raise their hands before giving

their views or ideas. Finally, some words were unclear to me as the moderator. As such, I had to be aware of this and ask the participants to spell out the word used.

Apart from gaining experience in conducting research, I became aware of which activities are not suitable for use during the actual data collection. For example, having sweets such as Skittles as part of the games attracted the children; however, care has to be taken, as some of the participants might have an allergy. I finally decided to use only the vignette activity and the questions used in the first activity (Skittles Game) during the actual data collection phase, which is further explained below.

#### **(a) Running the focus groups with P4 pupils**

My 'formal' fieldwork began in May 2014. Up until June 2014 I conducted eight focus group sessions with 19 pupils from two P4 classes (P4A and P4B). The decision to start with P4 pupils was due to the fieldwork starting at the very end of the school term, and this year group was less occupied than the other year groups during this time. The focus group was conducted at the school's After School Club (LPSC) room during the school day.

#### **Focus groups recruitment process with P4 pupils**

In order to ensure potential participants were well informed of their rights during the course of the fieldwork, information pertaining to the research topic was given to the parents and potential participants in the form of an information sheet. The information sheet explained the types of activities involved in the research, the estimated duration of different aspects of the fieldwork, the type of data that would be collected, how the data would be collected and used, how anonymity and confidentiality would be protected, and what would happen to the data once the project was completed. On the children's information sheet I used pictures, speech bubbles, and a question-and-answer format. Additionally, as suggested by Bray (2007), Fargas-Malet and colleagues (2010), Alderson and Morrow (2011), and Greig and colleagues (2013), I used simple language and avoided jargon and acronyms when communicating with the children.

The recruitment for the P4 focus group participants started with the ICT Coordinator distributing a letter from the head teacher along with the Research Kits to all P4 pupils a week before the focus group sessions started. The Research Kits (**Appendix 3 to Appendix 7**) consisted of the Children's Information Sheet, the Parent/Carer's Information Sheet, the Parent/Carer's Consent Form, the Children's Consent Form, and the Parent/Carer's Interview Invitation Form.

### **Numbers of focus groups participants with P4 pupils**

In terms of the number of participants in a focus group, this study followed suggestions by Krueger and Casey (2000) and Morgan and colleagues (2002) to have between 6-8 pupils per group. With these numbers, it is easier to handle group dynamics while still generating sufficient group discussion. In total, there were eight focus groups conducted with a total of 21 participants from P4A and P4B. Whilst I can see consistencies of the attendance from P4A, meaning that the same seven people attended the focus groups sessions, this was not the case for P4B. I ended up meeting twelve different pupils in my focus group session with P4B. In each session different activities were carried out (**Table 4.3**).

**Table 4.3: Extended pilot study focus group activities**

<b>Week</b>	<b>Activities</b>
<b>Week 1</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Participants and researcher get to know each other;</li> <li>2. Agree on how the researcher and participants will work together;</li> <li>3. Explain about confidentiality, safety, anonymity and consent;</li> <li>4. Ask the participants to choose their pseudonyms;</li> <li>5. Fill in questionnaire – list types of virtual world sites, SNSs and other online activities involved</li> </ol>
<b>Week 2</b>	Privacy Mind Map – Participants were asked to work in group and to fill in the empty boxes in the mind map chart that comprised the questions below:  1 <sup>st</sup> question - What is Privacy?  2 <sup>nd</sup> question - Do we need privacy? Yes/No? Why?  3 <sup>rd</sup> question - How can we achieve privacy?
<b>Week 3</b>	Identify the 'actors' on the Internet



<b>Week 4</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Hand over the Certificate of Participation to the participants;</li> <li>2. Vignette (<b>Appendix 1</b>) – Scenario of Emily who wants to open her own Facebook account.</li> </ol>
---------------	---

### **Focus group sessions with P4 pupils**

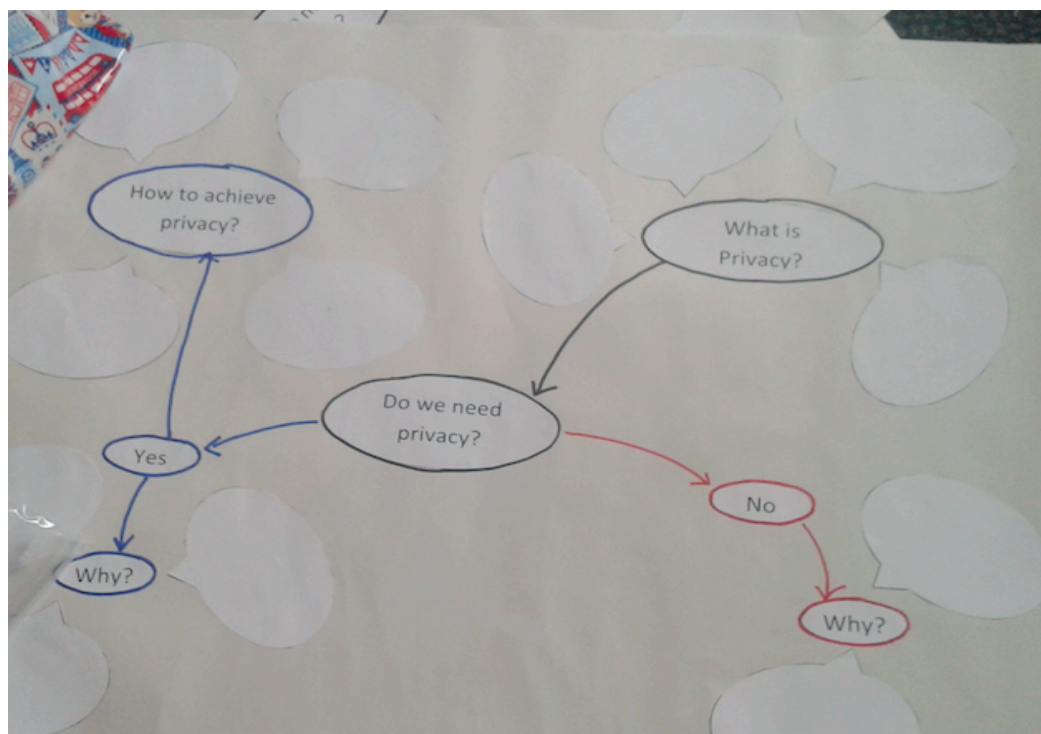
The first session was a ‘warm up’ session aimed at building up a rapport with the participants to ensure that they were clear about the research project and expectations. To achieve this, I made an effort to arrive early at the LPSC room in order to prepare myself, arrange the chairs and tables, and hang the Welcome Poster and blank sheet for the group agreement activity. Such actions, according to Morrow and Richards (1996) and Einarsdottir (2007), may reduce the power inequalities between the adult researcher and the children. The issues of power inequality will be further discussed in the ethics section (**Section 4.8**).

I started the session by introducing myself, the study, and briefly explained the reason for the focus group session. I also explained to them my duty as a researcher in maintaining the confidentiality of information about the participants and data obtained. I stressed that their participation was voluntary and they were allowed to leave at any time during the discussion. I summarised the issues pertaining to confidentiality, an exception to confidentiality, consent, and anonymity in a consent form (**Appendix 10**), which I requested they fill in prior to the start of the focus groups and interviews. Additionally, I also explained to them the importance to respect each other’s opinions and that those views are confidential, which means not to be shared with anyone else. Apart from that, I asked their permission to audio record. At first, I felt they were unsure about audio recording. I explained to them the reason for the recording, how I would use it, who would listen to it, and, finally, what I would do to the recording once I completed this study. I ended my first week focus group sessions by finalising the agreements of the expectations (ground-rules). I asked them to write down on the blank sheet provided how they would expect members in the group to act (the ‘dos’ and ‘don’ts’) during the subsequent focus group sessions to be conducted. Everyone participated in this activity, myself included. In order to give the children a sense of ownership, I asked them to sign the list that they produced.

In Week 1, I requested that participants fill in a brief questionnaire (**Appendix 9**), so that I could understand their experiences in using SNSs, virtual worlds and online games. These three mediums of social networking were selected based on the fact that SNSs are the most popular among children aged 9-12 years old (Livingston et al, 2011). A study conducted by the EU Kids online in 2011 showed that children, even at the ages of 9-12, possess their own SNSs account where their profile can be seen by any user (profile set to public). Through this questionnaire, I learned which participants had the most experience using the Internet and SNSs (number of years of use), and used this information to determine who would be considered for one-to-one interviews. As mentioned in **Section 4.4.1**, the individual semi-structured interview session with children was conducted after the focus group sessions. This selection approach allowed for interviews with children who had certain knowledge regarding navigating the SNSs based on their long-term engagement with those sites. To assist participants in filling in this questionnaire, I went through the list of questions with them prior to their answering them.

During this data collection phase, I introduced a new activity called the 'Privacy Mind Map' activity (Figure 4.1) in Week 2. Punch (2002) argues that the use of visual methods as a data collection technique with children can reduce the unequal power balance between adult researcher and child participant. A mind map is a technique of organizing information using hierarchies and categories (Buzan and Buzan, 1993): its free-flow, organized, and coherent style of generating ideas that flows out from the central idea aids understanding of the overall association of a concept. I decided to use this activity to understand how children view the concept of privacy. In this context, the mind map was meant to assist participants with connecting the concept of privacy to give ideas on how privacy could be achieved. To do so, I prepared a blank sheet of the Privacy Mind Map so that it would be easier for them to fill in the empty spaces. Colourful pens, Post-it papers, and stickers were given to the child participants for use during the session.

**Figure 4.1: P4B Privacy Mind Map Activity**



As explained in **Section 4.4.1**, among other things this study seeks to understand children's knowledge of the 'actors' that exists in the online context. Thus, the objective of the third focus group (Week 3) was to find out about children's perceptions of these 'online actors'. In doing so, the participants were asked to put stickers on the board for which 'actors' they thought knew about their activities on the Internet. They were asked to give reasons for their selection and opinions on how these actors would know what they did on the Internet. In addition, the participants were asked to indicate which 'actors' were not supposed to know about their activities on the Internet and the reasons for their selection.

Week 4 was the final week for data collection with P4 pupils. As mentioned above, a vignette was used in this session in order to elicit participants' responses on matters of participants' online privacy. Finally, as this was the last day of my focus group with them, I also took the opportunity to give a certificate of attendance as a sign of appreciation for their contribution and cooperation in the focus group sessions.

## Challenges

I faced several challenges while conducting these sessions. First, I was too reliant on the ICT Coordinator and did not liaise directly with the class teachers. I assumed that the focus group sessions would be conducted during the ICT class, as the ICT Coordinator had informed me; however this was not the case and thus resulted in delays to some of my focus groups. For example, on one occasion I was not informed that my participants had a school trip.

The second issue, which I consider the main challenge for this fieldwork, was that attendance from P4B was inconsistent throughout the weeks. Compared with P4A, from which there were only between 6 and 7 participants, in total, 12 participants from P4B attended the focus groups, but not all of them attended each session. This resulted in a lack of continuity and in-depth understanding of what influenced the participants' responses with regard to the issues of privacy. I did not foresee this issue at the outset of the study, as the activities for the focus groups had been arranged through the ICT Coordinator with the assumption that the same pupils would attend all of the sessions.

Based on the data collected during the focus group sessions, I managed to gather pertinent information on opinions of privacy from P4 participants. However, based on conversations with them about their online activities, most of them indicated that they were not actively engaged in online social networking. Realising that the likelihood that this age group's exposure to online environments would be lower than for children aged 9 years or above, I subsequently decided to focus on 9 to 11 year olds, i.e. the P6 and P7 pupils for the academic session 2014/2015. Having child participants who are actively engaged in online social networking was important in the context of this study, as it related to how their views on privacy affected their online social engagement and their thoughts on the Internet parenting style used by their parents. As for the fieldwork with P4 and P5 pupils, it was considered the session as my 'Extended Pilot Session'.

## **4.6 Full Study**

This section will explain my experience and challenges faced in dealing with the participants during the main data collection fieldwork.

### **4.6.1 Data collection fieldwork with the P6 and P7 pupils**

#### **(a) Focus Group Session**

The data collection with P6 and P7 pupils started a week after the school term 2014/2015 started in August 2014. Much had already been learned from the pilot and also the extended pilot studies that were conducted with P4 and P5 pupils. I realised that maintaining a good working relationship with teachers and school staff was vital for conducting research in a school setting (Isaksen and Roper, 2009, p.303). Therefore, this time around, instead of relying on the ICT Coordinator, I requested permission from the school's head teacher to liaise directly with the class teachers.

Conducting research requires the researcher to be receptive to the possibility of methodological changes (Underwood et al, 2010). Several changes were made as a result of the pilot and extended pilot studies. First, I changed the time allocation per session. In the extended pilot sessions, the focus groups lasted about thirty minutes, whereas during data collection the sessions took between an hour and an hour and a half, thus increasing the likelihood that in-depth data were obtained. The second change related to the number of sessions attended by the participants. In the full study phase, participants were only asked to attend one focus group session. I decided to proceed with this approach, as I did not want my participants to regularly miss their classes, which was likely if I had followed the approach used during the extended pilot sessions (each participant needed to attend 4 focus group sessions). Additionally, there was the possibility that the same participants would not be able to attend every focus group session. Again, the issue of lack of continuity and difficulties in having in-depth understanding, as occurred during the pilot session, would likely occur. Third, the Privacy Mind Map activity was not used in this session, as I wanted to use it during the individual interview. Finally, as the duration for the session had been

increased, I decided to give my participants a five minute break. I reflected that, during my pilot session, one of the challenges for me in conducting focus groups with children was keeping the discussions lively and fun, with a child-friendly approach, that ensured that the participants continued to contribute throughout the data collection phase. This is important as it had an effect on response quality (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). I reflected on the 'foul-up' situation in one of my pilot focus groups with P4A pupils through the fieldwork notes below:

*I felt that this was the most challenging session I had ever handled. Football Mad and Heart were very active, sitting under the table, and not participating most of the time. They made a noise and disturbed all of the other participants. When asked, both of them had informed that they were interested in being in the group. They refused when I offered them to be at the book corner, which was also available at the LPSC. (Fieldwork notes, P4A focus group, extended pilot study, June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2014).*

As a result, I realised that I needed to create an activity that would hold their attention. As depicted in **Table 4.4**, I allocated the 'loom bands' activity slot during the five minute break session. However, most of the time this activity took more than five minutes, so I decided to let them continue making loom bands while discussing the vignettes. The strategy to let my participants play with the loom bands in order to hold their interest while discussing the vignettes seemed to work. I acknowledged Gibson's (2012) and Stewart and Shamdasani's (1990) argument that allowing child participants to have fun and be creative during the interview process is a good strategy in making the interview more child friendly. **Table 4.4** below shows the focus group activities that were conducted with P6 and P7 pupils.

**Table 4.4: List of focus group activities with P6 and P7 pupils**

	Activities	Contents
1	Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Brief introduction about the research. Explanation on how researcher and participants will work together including explanation of confidentiality, safety, anonymity and consent.</li></ul>
2	Fill in questionnaire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• List types of virtual world sites, SNSs and other online activities involved</li></ul>
3	Online/offline privacy and actors of the Internet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Understand their perception of online and offline privacy, benefits of having privacy and ways to achieve privacy.</li><li>• Participants were asked what they understood as 'privacy', the difference between online and offline privacy and what participants did to get privacy in both situations.</li><li>• Discuss who knows about what we're doing on the Internet</li></ul>
4	Loom bands time!	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• 'Take 5' sessions. Participants were given time to play loom bands</li></ul>
5	Vignettes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Scenario of Emily who wants to open her own Facebook account.</li></ul>
6	Reflections and Feedback	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Participants to reflect what they have learnt and how they are going to apply this learning in real life situations.</li><li>• Answering feedback questionnaires on the effectiveness of the project.</li></ul>

Similar to the extended pilot study, the same process of distributing the Research Kits was conducted. This time, about 100 copies of the Research Kit were distributed to the four classes (P6A, P6B, P7A, and P7B). The opt-out method was maintained to ensure a reasonable balance between parental oversight and to ensure participation of the ideal number of participants (6-8 pupils per group). Pupils and their parents were given a week to decide whether to opt-out of this study. In total I received 3 parental consent forms that were submitted through the class teacher, indicating that they would like their children to opt-out of this study. I will discuss in detail on the issue of consent in **Section 4.8**.

In total there were 57 pupils from P6 and P7 who voluntarily participated in the 10 focus group sessions conducted between August 25<sup>th</sup> and September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2014. There were five sessions with 27 pupils from P6, and another five sessions with 30 pupils from P7. **Table 4.5** below depicts participant's information.

**Table 4.5: P6 and P7 focus groups participants' information**

Class	Girls	Boys
<b>P6</b>	14	13
<b>P7</b>	13	17

The sessions were conducted in the same LPSC room as the extended pilot study. Prior to the start of every focus group session, participants were given a similar introduction to the one conducted during the extended pilot study with P4 and P5 pupils i.e. a brief introduction about the researcher, what the research was about, matters regarding confidentiality, safety, anonymity, consent, permission to audio record the discussion, and the use of pseudonyms. In addition, I also briefed participants about the child protection procedure that would be followed throughout the study (see **Section 4.8**). As part of the child protection procedures, I distributed the ChildLine leaflet at the outset of the session to ensure awareness of the options they had in case they encountered any online problems or wanted to discuss any concerns triggered by this study.

The focus groups were conducted in two time slots, either in the morning or evening, and after the school lunch break. They were not conducted during the ICT slot as initially planned, since the ICT subject was taken by the class teachers, not by the designated ICT Coordinator as in the previous school term. The head teacher informed me that they had changed the ICT slot approach for the school term dated 2014/2015, as they were short staffed.

#### **(b) Interviews with selected P6 and P7 pupils**

There were two selection criteria used to select focus groups participants who would take part in the individual interviews. The first criterion was based on the answers from the brief questionnaire that participants filled in during the focus groups session (refer to Activity 2 in **Table 4.4**). Participants with more years of experience using the Internet and who engage in various SNSs were preferred. However, I realised that there were participants who did not actively engage in social networking but provided insightful views and opinions about the



topic, for example Minion, which led me to include the responses received from participants during the focus group sessions as the second criterion for the individual interview.

Out of 57 pupils from the P6 and P7 focus groups, 15 pupils were not invited for the interview sessions. Out of these 15 pupils, 4 pupils mentioned that their parents were not interested in being interviewed, and the other 11 pupils did not participate in the interviews. In total, 42 letters included the consent forms and the interview invitation letters for children and parents (**Appendix 10 to Appendix 14**) were given to the selected participants. Along with the invitation letters for the children, I also included the invitation to interview the parents. However, none of the consent forms from either parents and children (**Appendix 12, Appendix 13 and Appendix 14**) were returned, which indirectly allowed me to approach all of the 42 child participants to whom I had passed the interview invitation form (opt-out approach).

Out of the 42 participants invited, I managed to interview 26 pupils (8 from P6 and 18 from P7) between September and November 2014. Of the other 16 pupils, that were invited, some told me that they were not interested, while others informed me that their parents did not want them to be interviewed. The information regarding participants of the individual interviews is summarised in **Table 4.6** below.

**Table 4.6: Number of P6 and P7 interview participants**

Class	Girls	Boys
P6	3	5
P7	9	9

As the interviews were conducted during school time, I did not intend to take more than one hour. I understood that taking a long time to do the interview could cause the children to be bored and exhausted (Faux et al, 1988; Kortessluoma et al, 2003), and as such I tried to be alert to my participants' body language in order to observe whether they were comfortable, exhausted, or bored.

### **The use of a tablet**

I realised that conversation without any other activity might easily make children be bored. With the use of tablet during interview, I noticed that the conversation became livelier once the participants could show me their social networking accounts. Bob and Taz even showed me how to download Instagram, Snapchat, and IMO (free video call and chatting) applications using Google Playstore. Most of the interviews that were conducted without participants' showing me how they use their online networking accounts only lasted about 30 minutes, which I thought was too short. The availability of the tablet assisted me in prolonging the conversation and giving them ideas about what to say. For example, my interview with Fire Red Ninja lasted about 50 minutes, as she showed me her activities on Facebook and the *moviestarplanet* application.

### **Teacher's presence**

At first I thought the class teacher would be present during the session, as the school might have certain procedures regarding research conducted with pupils. I was worried that, if this were the case, participants might not feel comfortable discussing their online activities with their teacher present, and might provide socially and academically desirable responses (Lobe et al, 2008). However, this was not the case in this study - none of the teachers were present when focus groups and individual interviews were conducted.

### **Token of appreciation**

It has become a norm that researchers recognise participants' contribution in terms of time, effort, and their willingness when involved in a research study (Alderson and Morrow, 2011; Bushin, 2007). As a token of appreciation for all the participants involved in focus group and individual interview sessions, I awarded them a Certificate of Appreciation, which was signed by the school's Head Teacher and myself. This also indirectly showed that the school also recognised their efforts, which is important as it is good for the children to feel appreciated

for their contribution. I also gave a barrel of sweets and biscuits to each P6 and P7 class, as well as one for the school staff.

#### **4.6.2 Interviews with parents**

Unlike in the interviews with children, whereby the opt-out method of parental consent was applied, the interviews with parents used an opt-in method, and as such it was necessary for the consent form to be sent back to me. Out of the 42 interview invitation letters that were sent to the P6 and P7 participants and their parents, only *Christiano's* mother texted me that she was interested in being interviewed. Worrying about this lack of response, I asked for my child interviewees to ask their parents if the parents would like to be interviewed. As a result, *Becca*, *Elsa*, and *Spy Guy's* mothers agreed and sent in the consent forms. *Becca's* mother introduced me to *Minion's* father and the other three parents (*Lion's* father, *Richie's* mother, and *Danny's* mother), who I approached during the school assembly. In total I only managed to obtain 8 parent participants in this study, (details provided in **Section 4.3**).

All the interviews with parents lasted between 45 minutes to one and a half hours, and were performed in each family's living room. *Lion*, *Christiano* and *Spy Guy* were at home when the interviews with their parents were conducted. They were doing homework at the time the interviews took place, though sometimes they interrupted the interviews to ask something. While I cannot know for sure these interruptions were children wanting to know what had been said about them. Bushin (2007) discusses the issue of confidentiality and disclosure, in the sense that children or parents might be curious to know what details had been disclosed about them.

As gratitude for their willingness to be interviewed, I gave a £10 Argos voucher to each of the parents. I decided a gift voucher was more appropriate than cash, as it was a token of appreciation rather than payment. I did not inform the parents of this gift in the interview invitation letter, as I hoped their participation was due of their willingness and not because of a monetary incentive.

### **(a) Challenges**

One of difficulties in this study was performing the data collection at the participants' homes. As discussed in **Section 4.3.2**, the initial plan for the study was to conduct the interviews at the participants' homes, because, as Ólafsson and colleagues (2013) argue, the home is the main venue where children use the Internet. Additionally, I was interested in seeing how the children interacted with their parents in order to further understand how parents practice their Internet parenting styles. The difficulties in performing data collection at the participants' homes were a result of the challenges I faced in getting the parents to participate in this study.

Acknowledging the lack of parents' participation encouraged me to get involved in many of the activities arranged by the school. I volunteered during the 2014 Summer Fair, Christmas Fair, and Disco Night events. I also attended the parents' association's monthly meetings to further familiarise myself with the parents. The lack of parent participation in this study, despite my efforts to encourage their involvement, is something that disappointed me - I worried that this lack of parent participation would affect the variety and richness of the data. However, I found Guest and colleagues' (2006) observations to be true, i.e. that a sample of at least six interviews may be sufficient to develop meaningful themes and useful interpretations. In addition, it should be noted that during my 10-month fieldwork period, I managed to collect considerable data based on 10 sessions of focus groups with 57 pupils, and 26 interviews with 8 P6 pupils and 18 P7 pupils, which I believe is enough to reach data saturation.

## 4.7 Data analysis

In this section I discuss how the data were collected and protected, analysed, coded and themed, and what steps were taken to increase the validity and reliability of the data.

### 4.7.1 Protecting data

This study collected personal information from the child participants and their parents for administrative purposes, i.e. to arrange for reminders of the in-home interviews. To ensure protection, the data were kept on a computer that was equipped with password protection, and to which only the main researcher had access. The information will be immediately destroyed once the research is completed as in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998. **Table 4.7** specifies the list and justification for collection.

**Table 4.7: Types of data collected and purpose**

Types of Data	Obtained from	Purpose
Children and parents' name, contact number and home address	Consent form	Used for the reminders of the interview
Children and parents' name, age, gender and race	Focus groups and interviews	Primary data for the study.
Participants' voice	Recorded during one to one interview and focus group interview	Primary data for the study.
Focus groups and interview transcripts	Transcribed based on the recorded interview; other artefacts based on activities performed e.g. mind-map chart	Primary data for the study.

### 4.7.2 Analysing data

#### Thematic analysis

All focus group discussions and interviews were recorded using a voice tape recorder with the consent of the participants. Thematic analysis was chosen when analysing the data collected during focus groups and interviews performed, as it useful in answering the research questions. Through the process of coding - looking through the texts for recurrent themes, topics, or relationships - insightful interpretations can be made. Themes can be identified in one of two ways: either inductively (data-driven approach) or deductively

(theory-driven approach) (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Ryan and Bernard, 2003). With inductive coding, the process does not follow the researcher's analytic preconceptions, as the researcher is not interested in having preconceptions about the theoretical concepts of the topic. The researcher is thus free to create a coding frame during the coding process. A deductive approach requires the researcher to have a theoretical understanding about the research area. This theoretical understanding is important to create a pre-existing coding frame to be used during the coding process.

I opted for a hybrid approach to coding (both inductive and deductive), as used by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006). If I used only the inductive coding in my study about privacy, I would read and re-read the interview transcripts to look for themes related to privacy. I would not give much attention at the influential theory of privacy by Nissenbaum (as discussed in **Chapter 2**) or other privacy concepts underpinning my understanding about this area. Likewise, an exclusively deductive approach tends to provide 'less a rich description of the data overall', as the analysis would be limited to the theoretical interests or preconceptions about this topic (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.84). With the hybrid approach, I managed to obtain themes derived from participants' point of view (inductive) as well as from my own understanding about the theoretical aspects of my studies (deductive).

Thematic analysis involves several stages. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that the first phase involve familiarisation with the data. There are many ways for the researcher to familiarise themselves with the data, including transcription, multiple readings and viewings, and any other efforts that could lead to an in-depth understanding of the data (Fielding and Lee, 1991). Prior to commencing an in-depth reading of the transcripts, I listened to the tape-recorded interviews while reviewing my interview notes. In addition, as per the recommendation of Auerbach and Silverstein (2003), a copy of the central research questions and goals of the study were constantly referred to. This process enabled me to formulate some preliminary findings prior to proceeding with the in-depth analysis of the transcripts. However, as advised by O'Dwyer (2004), the interview guides or research

questions should not constrain the researcher, who should be open to new themes that emerge during the in-depth coding. I chose to transcribe the interview data myself in order to get a better sense of the data, which I believed assisted with reflexivity throughout the analysis and writing processes. Indeed, self-transcribing helps the researcher get a 'feel' for the data and thus aid in depth analysis (O'Dwyer, 2004).

The second phase is in-depth coding, which leads to the creation of codes. Coding translates any verbal<sup>1</sup> data collected into meaningful codes in order to assist readers in understanding the social world under inquiry, based on the way participants' view it. Both Topic (Descriptive) coding and In Vivo coding techniques were used in this study. Descriptive coding summarizes the passage with a code according to the topic spoken of (in interviews) or what is written (Saldana, 2013). In Vivo coding generates codes by using the actual language of the participants. As this study values children's views, using their own words from the individual and group interviews enhances and deepens our understanding of how they view online privacy. During the first in-depth reading of each interview transcript, I performed the 'pre-code' activities, as proposed by Layder (1998). Such activities consist of highlighting, underlining, marking, and circling important quotations from participants. Numerous codes were identified at this stage. The subsequent phase involved refinement of the themes so as to define them for the study. Regarding the final themes, the researcher is required to present detailed analysis, identify a story that each individual theme tells, and be able to find connections between themes.

### **Use of CAQDAS**

In the earliest phase of data analysis (familiarization), I decided not to use any Computer-Aided Qualitative Analysis Software (henceforth CAQDAS) because I did not realise the benefits this software could offer. I did my first round of coding manually, from which I found the potential theme about 'Trust'; I realised the benefits of using CAQDAS only after writing a short essay on this theme. With over 30 transcripts to analyse, I found it difficult to locate

---

<sup>1</sup> Verbal data may consist of data contain in interview transcripts, field notes, journal, photographs, videos, documents and so on (Saldana, 2013).

quotations relevant to the 'Trust' theme. I began familiarising myself with Nvivo 8 and Quirkos qualitative analysis software in order to decide which I was most comfortable with, and subsequently chose to use Quirkos. Quirkos enhanced some of the functions that NVivo has: using colours to represent codes, Quirkos highlights the expression in the data that has been coded. In contrast, I found Nvivo frustrating, because without running the query functions, I could not know which expression in the data had been coded. Quirkos not only helps in terms of the search and retrieval of relevant data, but facilitates a systematic approach to developing and building a coding framework, which was particularly relevant for my study. It allows users to create coding categories and sub-categories (and sub-subcategories). Similar to other systematic data management tools, Quirkos is equipped with a range of functionalities, such as: content analysis, sequences, or location of words and phrases; memo-ing to enable the researcher to write reflective commentaries; data storage; theory-building models; and a few other data management functions.

Using CAQDAS is not without its limitations. CAQDAS is only a tool to assist in managing data, and as such is still unable to perform interpretive judgments, which are essential to qualitative analysis (Weitzman 1999; Garcia-Horta and Guerra-Ramos, 2009). The researcher also takes on risk if s/he depends too much on the software, and must be aware that the software or computer could crash. To avoid losing the database, regular backups were performed. Finally, the researcher must be careful that s/he does not overlook the significant relationships and the context in which the data occurs.

### **Various types of data**

The use of various methods of data collection in this study enabled me to triangulate during the analysis phase. Triangulation enables the researcher to gain multiple perspectives about the subject of inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Shenton, 2004). The use of different methods compensates for the respective method limitations as well as exploits their benefits (Shenton, 2004). Triangulation was achieved by collecting data in two main ways, i.e. focus groups and individual interviews.



There were various types of data collected in this study, i.e. interview audio recordings, mind maps images, netnography observation data and also data from the brief questionnaire (**Appendix 9**). To aid analysis, the data were converted into text: for example, the interview audio recordings were transcribed and the netnography observation data were included in the interview notes. Other than Quirkos analysis software, data from the brief questionnaire and some of the data obtained from the vignettes (Emily's situation) were entered into Microsoft Excel sheet, so that it would be easier for me to understand the frequency of the data mentioned.

Attention was given to potential patterns and dissonances between children and parents with consideration of different data collection methods; findings are presented in **Chapters 5, 6 and 7**. The comparison of data was made between: (1) child participants' data from focus groups and individual interviews; (2) child-parent dyad interview data; and (3) parent participants with different Internet parental mediation strategies.

In addition, to establish credibility of the codes and themes identified, I employed a debriefing technique, wherein I shared some of the transcriptions that had already been anonymised and the thematic framework developed with my academic supervisors. In addition, I also considered exceptions to the patterns by looking for confounding evidence, and subsequently considered whether the codes or themes needed to be adapted or deleted.

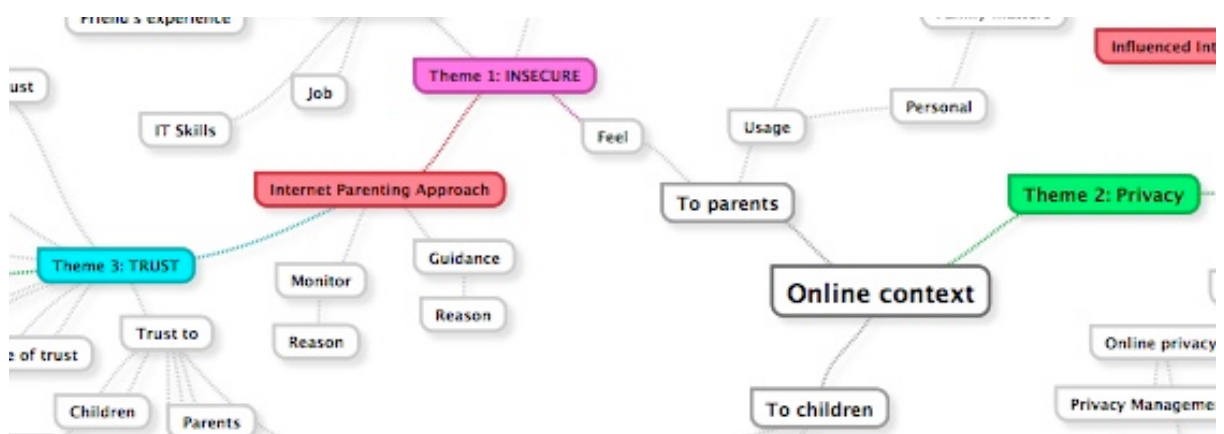
### **Deciding themes**

There were times during analysis where I had trouble in deciding the themes of this study. At first, I was of the opinion that themes should directly answer the research questions. I then referred to several papers about the meaning of themes and concluded that they do not necessarily need to answer the research questions directly. According to Ryan and Bernard (2003), themes are abstract constructs linked to expressions found in the data. They are phrases or sentences which represent much more meaningful and tacit processes, and

needs to be distinctive, coherent, and consistent (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Saldana, 2013). As explained above, themes emerge from the data inductively or deductively (or both, as in this case).

I envisaged that my data tell an “interconnecting story”. In order to assist this process, I used visual representations, in the form of thematic maps, (Figure 4.2, below), as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Creswell (2012). To understand how the data and themes related to each other, I organised my thematic map around the central organising concept ‘*Online Context*’. I then connected this with the main topic and actors involved in this study: ‘*Privacy*’, ‘*To Children*’, and ‘*To Parents*’. Via the process of iterative coding, I identified three themes that are related to each other: Theme 1: Insecure (***Online environment as an unsafe place***); Theme 2: Privacy (***What does privacy means to children and parents?***); and Theme 3: ***Trust***. Figure 1 below shows the interrelation of themes found in this study. The full mind-map chart is available in **Appendix 15**.

**Figure 4.2: Interconnected Themes Map**



The themes were named to capture the essence of the theme's focus (Braun and Clarke, 2014). As such, Theme 1 was named after '***Online environment as an unsafe place***' to portray both children's and parent participants' views about the online environment. As will be further discussed in **Chapter 5**, Theme 1 also captures the factors that influence their views, as well as connections between parents' views of the Internet and the Internet mediation strategies they use for their children. The data that generated Theme 1 mostly

came from individual interview sessions with children and parents.

Theme 2 was named '***What privacy means to children and parents***' to portray both children's and parents' views about online privacy. Theme 2 'provide[s] [a] rich, coherent and meaningful picture of dominant patterns in the data that addresses research question' (Braun and Clarke, 2014, p.249). The first two research questions set out for this study were discussed under this theme (further discussed in **Chapter 6**). Compared to Theme 1, the excerpts that I will use to illustrate Theme 2 and the narrative around those excerpts are mostly taken from focus groups sessions with children and from the interview sessions with parents. Recall the use of the vignette in the focus groups, which was specifically designed to elicit children's views on privacy.

Finally, Theme 3 was named after '**Trust**' to discuss its relationship with children's privacy. Noteworthy, this theme was an unexpected one, which arose from data observed based on interview with child and parents. Additionally, the third research question was discussed under this theme. The data that generated Theme 3 came mostly from the focus groups and the individual interviews with children and parent participants.

## **4.8 Ethical considerations**

Studies involving children demand that the researcher emphasise the complex ethical issues, which include information consent, access, power inequality, confidentiality, and protection (Mishna et al, 2004; Einarsdottir, 2007). These ethical issues are further complicated by debates over the extent to which research with children is different from research with adults (Punch, 2002; Morrow, 2008). For this study, I specifically refer to Barnado's Statement of Ethical Research Practice, as it highlights researchers' responsibilities to participants, colleagues, and self (Barnado's, 2005). Barnado's is a large and well established non-governmental organisation and was a leader in child-centred research. Before I began the fieldwork, an Ethical Review Form was submitted to the University of Edinburgh's SSPS Research and Ethics Committee for approval and discussion.

### **4.8.1 Informed consent and power inequality**

I understand that gaining the participants' consent is important in research in order to ensure justice, truthfulness, and respect (Bushin, 2007; Anderson and Morrow, 2011; Greig et al, 2013). For this study, consent was sought from the children themselves, the children's parents or carers, the school's head teachers, and the Edinburgh City Council as the school's authority, through formal means, i.e. through forms and letters (**Section 4.5 and 4.6**).

This study acknowledged Gallagher and colleagues' (2010) view that the process of informed consent is problematic. This is especially when research involving children, particularly in school settings, as consideration has to be given in maintaining children's relationships with their parents, teachers and peers in good position. I took the stance that if a parent allowed their child to participate in this study, but the child refused to participate, the child's preference would take precedence. However, in situations where the parent did not give permission, I decided not to ask the child what their preference was. I realise that with the parental opt-out consent for children that I use left some children behind. Moreover,

this decision did not demonstrate an understanding of young children as ‘reliable, voluntary’ participants in research (Farell, 2016, p. 226). However, my decision was made on the basis to avoiding any issues with parents who explicitly did not provide consent for their child to participate on the Parent/Carer’s Consent Form (**Appendix 6**).

As mentioned in **Section 4.5** and **Section 4.6**, the children and parent participants were given information sheets prior to my meeting with them to ensure that potential participants were well informed of their rights during the course of the fieldwork. However, despite this notification, I doubted that the participants, particularly the children, looked through the information sheet provided. Such concerns were reflected in the participants’ inability to answer questions regarding the topic of the discussion, when I asked at the beginning of the focus group session; some just smiled and shook their heads. Realising that it is important for them to be aware that their participation should be voluntary, and that they understand the purpose of the study, prior to the start of the focus groups and interviews I briefly told participants what the study involves, what would happen, how long it would take, what is expected of them, consequences and possible risks of their participation, and how the results would be used (Einarsdottir, 2007). I also briefed them on the elements of ethical considerations, including their right to decline to answer any questions and withdraw at any time during the interview or focus groups, as well as issues on confidentiality and also anonymity. Hill (1997), Alderson and Morrow (2011), and Powell and Smith (2006) suggest that it is good practice to ensure that participants are aware that consent is re-negotiable. In order to ensure children were aware of the issues pertaining to consent, I explained and went through the consent form with them (**Appendix 10**), and then requested that they fill it in should they decide to continue their participation in the focus group or individual interview session. Active consent was required not only from child participants in this study, but also with parent participants.

One of difficulties I faced in conducting research with children was ensuring that the consent given by children was real. Alderson (2004) suggests that the researcher be aware of participants' gestures and non-verbal actions that may indicate their feelings. On one occasion, *Cookie* was reluctant to fill in the form. She then decided that she was not interested in being interviewed. This could relate to inequality or differences in power relationships and status between child and researcher, which results in children participants finding it difficult to communicate their wish to withdraw from the study (Punch, 2002; Mishna et al, 2004; Einarsdottir, 2007; Morrow, 2008). With regard to *Cookie's* reluctance to be interviewed, I also noticed she was quiet during the focus groups. Retrospectively, this made me wonder whether the opt-out consent process was the appropriate method to adequately allow children to refuse to participate.

One of the preliminary tasks that the researcher must address, regarding the issue of power inequality, is to think about appropriate techniques to be employed during the data collection fieldwork (Morrow and Richards, 1996; Einarsdottir, 2007). It is important for the researcher to balance this power differential so as to create an atmosphere that encourages child participants' contributions (Morgan et al, 2002). Participants' spontaneous contributions are important as they allow a rapport between to develop between participants and researcher, as well as giving participants the feeling that they are free to give their opinions. The seating arrangements, use of terminology used by the participants, warm-up and interesting activities, as well as agreements of expectations (ground-rules) by both the researcher and participants, were among the techniques suggested by Morgan and colleagues (2002) to create spontaneous contribution. I applied most of the suggested techniques during the focus groups and individual interview sessions with child participants, as explained in **Section 4.4**. Christensen and Prout (2002) suggest that, when performing child-centred research, it is important to apply practices that are harmonious with the children's experiences, interests, values, backgrounds, and daily routines. Ethical symmetry demands that the researcher be sensitive to participants' feelings, interests, and rights in varied situations in their lives (Christensen and Prout, 2002).

#### 4.8.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality is the other important element in conducting research based on human responses. In fact, it is the fundamental requirement of such research to respect the participants' views and ensure that the information collected (personal information or view points) will not bring them any harm (Powell and Smith, 2006; Einarsdottir, 2007; Anderson and Morrow, 2011; Powell and Smith, 2009). In my pilot fieldwork, I was asked about the issue of confidentiality:

*One of participants asked whether I was going to put the recorded conversation on the Internet and commented that it would not be good if I did that. I explained to them that I would not do that (put the recorded conversation on the Internet). I told them however that if I found that they are currently experiencing any unpleasant online experiences I would have to discuss this with their parents and head teacher. However, prior to doing that, I would discuss with them first. All participants seemed clear about this and agreed for their voices to be recorded. (Fieldwork note, 21<sup>st</sup> May 2014).*

Research with children demands preparation for potential issues raised by participants. As this research seeks to know about children's online experiences, there could be situations wherein participants share their unpleasant online experiences, such as the effect of cyberbullying or potential grooming activities. The protection procedure was explained to the child participants prior to the start of every focus group session. As discussed in **Section 4.6**, I explained that should such a situation occur, the immediate action would be to consult the affected participant regarding his or her preferences about discussing the matter further with the head teacher, the school's child protection coordinator, or the ICT coordinator. At the same time, participants would be advised to cease contact with the person who intends to harm them. In addition, the researcher would discuss the issues with academic supervisors regarding options to help to resolve the issue. As such, it is important to let them know that it is the duty of the researcher to highlight the issue with relevant staff and seek professional help despite the agreement of confidentiality made at the outset of the project (Einarsdottir, 2007; Powell et al, 2012). Nevertheless, no unpleasant experiences were shared with me during the focus group and interview sessions. I have a feeling that this was

genuine, as I did not encounter any negative tension from the children's stories or their gestures when they shared their online experiences.

Among the foreseen consequences of a breach of confidentiality was that children might be embarrassed, or to a certain extent harmed. Children's trust in the research and researcher could also be jeopardised. Thus, a confidentiality agreement was not only between the researcher and the participants; the importance of respecting peers' confidential matters as well as their views were emphasised and constantly reiterated to all child participants, mainly at the beginning of every focus group session. In addition, confidentiality between children and parents was also stressed to participants. This meant that what the children said during interviews or focus groups were not shared by me with their parents, and vice versa.

Anonymity in research means that participants cannot be recognised in reports (Einarsdottir, 2007), which was another ethical element I took into consideration. I therefore encouraged child participants to choose their own pseudonyms to be used during the focus groups and interview sessions. This also means that the name and the specific details of the school that participated in this study will not be mentioned in the report or elsewhere.

#### **4.8.3 Findings' feedback**

Initially, I planned to provide feedback to the participants by presenting a summary of the findings to them. However, my initial findings report was only finalised in June, which was nearly the end of the school term. I tried to arranged a session for the summary briefing with the child participants; however I was informed by the head teacher that the pupils were busy with activities arranged by the school (for example the P7 pupils' transition to secondary school and the P7 leavers' concert, as well as other outings). In addition, the possibility of me meeting the participants - especially from P7 - was very unlikely as they would be moving to secondary school in the new school term.



## 4.9 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the methodological approach and the challenges encountered when leading human-centred research, particularly with children but also with adults. Hopefully by sharing insights of participants, our understanding of the research processes involved in this study will be enriched. This chapter is only the beginning of a ‘story’, which will be continued in the next three chapters: Chapters 5, 6 and 7 to explore the empirical findings and the relationships found between the ***Online environment as an unsafe place, What does privacy means to children and parents?*** and ***Trust*** themes that were identified in this study.

## Chapter 5: Participants' Views of the Online Environment

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at how both the child and parent participants in this study view the online environment or Internet. As the study aims to understand how children perceive online privacy, it is important to know about children's online activities, and what their views are on issues related to SNSs and online games. Knowledge about children's online activities may lead to an understanding of children's privacy behavior, that is how they define violation of their privacy in the online environment, who they defined as their online privacy-threat and how they managed their online privacy. In addition, this study seeks to understand how parents view online privacy. Parents' views on the online environment are also deemed to be important as they are related to their Internet parental strategies (Nikken and Jansz, 2014; Nikken and Schols, 2015 and Nikken and de Haan, 2015).

The chapter is organised as follows: **Section 5.2** gives an overview of the online activities in which the child participants of this study participated. This is followed by discussing the factors influencing their online participation. Subsequently, **Section 5.3** focuses on child and parent participants' views of online risks, and how these link to the risks that children encounter in the online environment. **Section 5.4** examines factors that influence children's and parents' views about the online environment, including factors that influence parents' views of their children's online participation. **Section 5.5** discusses the connection between parents' view of the online environment and Internet mediation strategies they use with their children. **Section 5.6** concludes.

## 5.2 Children's online activities

This section gives an overview of what the child participants do when online, the factors that influence their online engagement, their awareness of certain issues regarding SNSs and finally how they utilise the opportunities that the online environment offers.

Child participants were asked about their online activities using a brief questionnaire (**Appendix 9**). While this questionnaire was initially intended for use as a participant-selection tool – wherein those with a high number of years of Internet-use who engaged in various SNSs would be asked to participate in interviews - I noticed that the questionnaires resulted in useful data. Overall, the results, as shown in Table 5.1, are consistent with the EU Kids Online findings: children are most likely to engage with SNSs, YouTube and gaming (EU Kids Online, 2014).

**Table 5.1: Types of online activities by child's participants**

<b>Online activities</b>	<b>P6 Total P6 participants = 28</b>	<b>P7 Total P7 participants = 29</b>
Visited social networking (SNS)	10	14
Visited Virtual World (creating avatar)	3	3
Watched video clips (e.g. YouTube)	7	8
Used the Internet for school work	5	10
Played games with other people on the Internet	27	25

Children are allowed to choose more than one answer in the questionnaires. Below are explanations regarding child participants' online activities in this study:

### **(a) Online Games**

As can be seen in Table 5.1, child participants in this study played online games more than other online activities. Child participants' engagement with games can be explained in various ways, from the interviews and focus group data. One reason is related to learning or educational purposes. For example, the educational games, *Coolmath* and *Sumdog* were among the online games frequently mentioned by the child participants. Both of these are educational games designed to motivate children to practice mathematics in a fun way. The *Sumdog* online application is used by most of the schools in Edinburgh (Edinburgh Digital Learning Team, 2014), which is likely why the *Sumdog* application was frequently mentioned by child participants. *Minecraft* was another online game repeatedly mentioned by the children. *Minecraft* puts the player in a 'sandbox-style' gaming environment, in which he or she is not given any instructions, but is given tools to create his or her own imaginary virtual world. As such, some academics argue that *Minecraft* can increase players' creativity (Lastowka, 2012; Cipollone et al, 2014).

Additionally, *FIFA Soccer* was mentioned by the child participants. *FIFA Soccer* is a series of football video games, which can be played by anyone registered with the game's online service provider. This relates to the second reason why child participants were so involved with online games. Notably, children's interest in playing this type of game is related to an offline interest: playing football. When asked what they do during free time, the majority of child participants, especially boys, indicated that they like to play football (offline) and play *FIFA Soccer* games on Xbox. Children's interest and enjoyment in playing games is evident from my conversation with Goldie Lock (P7):

*Interviewer: Ok. Which one do you prefer to do? Playing games or Facebook and Instagram?*

*Goldie Lock: Probably playing games because I always speak with my friends on my XBox*

*Interviewer: Ok, on Xbox, what games do you play?*

*Goldie Lock: Like FIFA Soccer or football games*

*Interviewer: So do you know all of them [the people on Xbox]?*

*Goldie Lock: Erm no like you just play FIFA Soccer and like some random people in there, but you don't have to speak to them, if you don't want to.*

*Interviewer: But then, if you want to play Xbox, you have to have the Internet as well right? So what is your life without Xbox?*

*Goldie Lock: Yeah I just still play it but I can't speak to my friends. That is why sometimes I hooked up my Internet*

*(Individual Interview, 30 Sept 2014)*

Goldie Lock has a clear preference for playing football games through Xbox rather than using SNSs. Note that he also mentioned that he prefers playing games because it also allows him to be in touch with his friends. He also mentioned playing with people that he does not know. This exhibits the third reason why child participants preferred online games - as a space for sociability and friendship formation (Eklund, 2014; Marsh, 2014). Children's engagement on online games is associated with strengthening existing friendships which started in the offline environment (Ito and Bittanti, 2010; Eklund, 2014; Marsh, 2014). Evidence about the use of SNSs as a medium to strengthen offline friendship will be further discussed below.

#### **(b) Visiting SNSs**

Besides playing online games, visiting and participating on SNSs were other online activities undertaken by more than half of the child participants in this study. Facebook, Twitter and Instagram were among the SNSs frequently mentioned by the child participants. The child participants were asked about the functions of SNSs. Here, Popcorn's excerpt is selected as it provides the most detailed view regarding the reasons SNSs were created:

*I think they create it [SNSs] so that you can get to talk to people and meet new people. Sometimes like if you scared to meet them, you can just Facebook with them and also like games like for children, they called it Club Penguin, so you see friends after school. So they don't sit at home just doing the chores. They can also*

*have privacy on the Internet to do some games and talks to people. (Focus Group P7B, 5<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014).*

Popcorn's view represented a typical opinion across child participants in this study: that SNSs were created as a medium of interaction and communication. Popcorn also mentioned seeing friends after school, much like Barbovschi and colleagues (2015), Livingstone and Helsper (2008), boyd (2014) and other scholars who found maintaining relationships with existing friends as the main reason for children's engagement on SNSs. This suggested that social media communication is there for seamlessly included in the children's friendship experience. This friendship could lead children in lowering of the threshold when disclosing their personal information, as mentioned by Popcorn, who also sees that SNSs could facilitate private interaction.

The use of SNSs in maintaining offline relationships among child participants was evident in this study. This was explained by Goldie Lock below:

*Interviewer: How many friends do you have on Facebook?*

*Goldie Lock: About 170 something.*

*Interviewer: Wow that is quite a number! Who are they?*

*Goldie Lock: All of my friends that used to be in this school. Some like my mom's friends and friends from my class and people who live near me.*

*Interviewer: Is there any people that you don't know?*

*Goldie Lock: Ermm no.*

*(Individual interview, 30<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014)*

Goldie Lock mentioned that his Facebook friends' list consisted of his offline friends, such as his schoolmates, classmates and people that he knew offline. This resonates with findings from a study by Subrahmanyam and colleagues (2006), who has shown that online and offline friendships overlap. Similarly, Ito and Bittanti (2010) highlighted the use of SNSs to strengthen existing social ties.

Further evidence indicated how peer influence encouraged the child participants' engagement with SNSs. When I asked Twinkle Toe whether he had Facebook and Instagram accounts, and the reason he opened the accounts, he explicitly mentioned that the presence of his classmates on those sites made him want to 'be there' as well. He further mentioned that he preferred to be on Instagram rather than Facebook, as most of his friends were on Instagram. The same reason was given by Popcorn about her preference of Instagram over other SNS platforms:

*I don't think I need it [Facebook] because all of my friends are on Instagram, most of them and there is hardly anyone on Facebook or Twitter. So, it is better to be on something that has your friends in there. If you are on something else, it will be not fun, not talking to anyone. (Popcorn, P7B, Individual Interview, 29 Sept 2014)*

Popcorn's reason for being on Instagram reflects boyd's (2014) view of the importance of SNSs as a 'place' for children to gather and socialise with offline peers in an informal way. boyd (2014) contends that, although the introduction of SNSs has altered the way in which children and their peers socialise, what remains unchanged is children's desire to constantly 'hang out' with their friends.

Further evidence about the use of SNSs to strengthen social ties, as argued by Ito and Bittolli (2010), is evidenced by what Lion (P7) says, providing the most complete view of his SNSs usage:

*Lion: I have a Google + account. I have also got Skype, I got my classmate and someone from Newcastle.*

*Me: So you normally communicate with them, using Skype?*

*Lion: No on Google, but when I talked to Y (Lion's old friend), I used Skype, because he doesn't have an email.*

*Me: What is 'The Crew' (showing to Lion's Google + account)*

*Lion: That the name of the 'hangouts' in Google +. The members are my classmates. We talked about say maybe if everyone except for that person isn't here, we keep wondering about what he doing or something.*

(Individual interview, 6 Aug 2014).

Lion's statement represented children's desire to 'stay connected' with their offline friends. Note that at the end of Lion's excerpt he mentioned the topics discussed with his classmates in Google +, that the topics seem likely to be the same as offline. As shown above, Lion uses different SNSs platforms to communicate with his friends, indicating that Lion possesses various SNSs profiles. Lion's participation in various SNSs shows his opportunity to learn various SNSs interfaces in communicating with his friends in online environment. Lion was not the only child participant who possessed different SNSs profiles. In fact, more than half of child participants in this study had more than one SNS profile: for example, many had both Facebook and Instagram ones.

In my interviews with the children, I noticed that they were more engaged with Instagram, compared to Facebook and Twitter. I asked Popcorn why she preferred Instagram: she replied:

*Well some of my friends are on Facebook, but you have to be a certain age to get that. I think Instagram is better because you can just look at pictures. [...] my friends do not recommend others as much as the Instagram or Twitter. (Popcorn, P7B, Individual Interview, 29 Sept 2014)*

One interesting point highlighted by Popcorn's statement was the minimum age requirement for opening a Facebook account. She was of the opinion that there was no age restriction for having an Instagram account. However, upon further inspection, Instagram was also in compliance with the United States Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA), like other SNSs (ConnectSafely, 2014), which require the online operator to obtain parental consent pertaining to the collection of personal information for children under 13 years old. Due to the cost and additional work involved to ensure compliance with this act, most of the SNS operators opt to restrict children under the age of 13 from using their services (boyd et al, 2011; O'Neill, 2013). However, unlike Facebook, Instagram did not require the new users to include their date of birth during the sign-up process, which could be the reason why Popcorn thought there was no age restriction on Instagram.



The topic of age requirements for SNSs was discussed in the focus group sessions. During that session, I asked the child participants whether they knew about the minimum age requirements set by most of the SNSs. Almost all of them answered that the age requirement was 13 years old. With regard to the issue of age, Neymar commented:

*But some people lied about their age, so that they could have a Facebook account. (Neymar, P7A, Focus Group, 2 Sept 2014)*

This is followed by Sparkly, who said:

*They shouldn't lie about their age. If you want to be on Facebook you have to tell the truth about your age. That is lying to other people. (Sparkly, P7A, Focus Group, 2 Sept 2014)*

Despite children's acknowledgement about the minimum age requirement to join SNSs only Neymar and Sparkly showed awareness concerning the act of lying about one's age on Facebook. Sparkly added that even lying to the Facebook website is inappropriate, as she equates the act of lying to Facebook as lying to people. The issue of lying about one's age on Facebook was raised by boyd and colleagues (2011) and O'Neill (2013), who questioned the effectiveness of COPPA. Despite the age restrictions, some parents tend to ignore them and are complicit in allowing their children to gain access to SNSs (boyd et al, 2011). This is done by entering a false age during the sign-up process. During the focus groups and individual interviews, children were asked about who helped them create their SNS accounts. While most of them mentioned either their mother or father, there were some children who said that they created their SNS profiles by themselves.

However, despite the imposition of the age restriction on the SNSs, more than half of the child participants aged 12 years or younger in this study engaged with such platforms. As mentioned, while almost all of them were aware of the age restriction, they still participated, in most instances due to influence from their friends.

### **(c) Schoolwork**

For schoolwork purposes, Table 5.1 indicates that the older child participants (P7) used the Internet more frequently compared to younger child participants (P6). One reason could be that, as children become older, there is a demand for them to acquire more information for their schoolwork, thus requiring more frequent use of the Internet. Based on my interview with the Head Teacher, the ICT subject for P6 and P7 pupils aimed to expose them to the use of various types of software: for example, *Coolmath* and *Sumdog* to support learning in numeracy and mathematics, and *Prezi*, through which children learn how to create presentations. They are also exposed to animation film using iPads.

### **(d) Watched video clips (YouTube)**

Apart from SNSs and online games, watching video clips through websites such as YouTube was another common online activity for children in this study. Nearly half (25 out of 57) of the children in this study mentioned that they used YouTube as part of their daily online activities. YouTube is a video-sharing website which enables users to upload and share videos. YouTube is categorised as a SNS, as users are able to comment on videos uploaded by others, which is similar to the other SNSs such as Facebook or Instagram (Jones and Cuthrell, 2011). Children also use YouTube as a tool for learning and entertainment purposes (Jones and Cuthrell, 2011). This is exemplified through interviews with Lion and Kpop:

*I subscribe to people. They are just like YouTubers that do stuff, like this one does origami, and tell you how to make stuff. (Lion, P7A, Individual interview, 6 Aug 2014)*

*I just generally use YouTube and find funny stuff. I sometimes like to see science experiments on YouTube. (Kpop, P7B, Individual interview, 30 Sept 2014)*

Lion and Kpop utilise YouTube as part of their learning: whereas Lion uses YouTube to learn origami, which is related to his interest in art (an offline activity), Kpop uses it for gathering scientific knowledge, as well as entertainment from humorous videos.

This section has described the types of online activities in which the children in this study engage. Children in this study used the Internet for various purposes, from learning, socialising, communicating, to looking for entertainment. Research has shown that children's engagement with the Internet provides them with opportunities: for example, developing their cognitive and social abilities (Greenfield and Yan, 2006; Johnson et al, 2007; Johnson, 2011); improving their learning capabilities (Austin and Reed, 1999); and for leisure, creativity, social interaction and self-expression (Livingstone, 2009, p.212). The data also indicate child participants' awareness of the age restriction of SNSs. One of the main findings in this section is the realisation that children participate in online gaming and SNSs mainly to stay in communication with people that they know offline. In addition, children's online activities, for example online gaming, doing homework online, and 'hanging out' in SNSs are related to offline activities, thus indicating that the online and offline worlds for children are often intertwined for children (boyd, 2007; Livingstone, 2009). Now knowing the types of online activities of the child participants, the next section will consider the problems children and parents face online.

### **5.3 Participants' views about the risks on the Internet**

This section highlights what most concerns participants – both parents and children - about children's participation in the online environment. Based on the interviews with both parents and child participants, the 'safety' theme resonates and recurs in this study. Discussion of children's online safety encompasses both online and offline risks. The offline risks could be a consequence of the online risks: for example, meeting strangers encountered online in a physical location (face-to-face meeting). The EU Online Kids study has classified the risks associated with children's online engagement into four main areas: contact-related risks, content-related risks, conduct-related risks, and technical risks (Livingstone, 2013). Online contact relates to inappropriate contact with strangers that can lead to a variety of risk situations, for example cyber-bullying, sexual solicitation, and potential threats to privacy, while content-related risks are related to the exposure of children accessing inappropriate or harmful websites (Valcke et al, 2011). Conduct-related risks, on the other hand, relate to bullying, hacking, or misuse of personal information between the children themselves and, finally, technical risks include viruses, spam, or illegal downloading. Data collected in this study revealed more about the first three related risks (content, contact and conduct) related risks compared to the technical risks. This is further explained below.

In order to elicit children's views about how they viewed SNSs and understood how they managed their profiles, a vignette was used during the focus groups. As explained in the previous chapter, the child participants were given a story about Emily, age 11, who wants to open a Facebook account; the children were then asked what Emily should do. Twenty-four out of 57 of the child participants suggested that Emily 'refer to her parents' so that her parents could assist her in opening the account. I further asked what Emily should do if her parents were against the idea of her opening an account. Elsa's comment was selected as a typical view across children in this study:

*If her parents didn't allow her [to open Facebook account], it is very important not to do it, because her parents know better, and how dangerous it could be. Your parents are better than you. (Elsa, P6A, Focus Group, 28 Aug 2014)*

Elsa suggested that Emily should just listen to her parents if they tell her not to open the account; she used the word 'dangerous', indicating that she believes that Facebook is not a safe place. Elsa's opinion of the Internet was repeated during her individual interview:

*There are loads of people on the Internet, some people are bad on the Internet, and they want to look at others' profiles on the Internet to find out information about them. (Elsa, Individual Interview, 11 Sept 2014)*

Elsa's view that Internet is not a safe place is based on her view that there are a 'number of people' that exist on the Internet. She was of the view that people with bad intentions could easily obtain information about others through the Internet. The way Elsa expressed her views on the Internet during the focus group and in her individual interview suggest that she is knowledgeable about Internet risks, particularly issues regarding online strangers.

Elsa was not the only child participant who mentioned the importance of being 'safe' on the Internet. In fact, almost all of the children who participated in this study had a sense of the importance of being cautious and vigilant on the Internet. After reading the vignette about Emily, I asked the children in the focus group who Emily should add as her Facebook friends. The data reveal that: 10 children answered 'parents, family members, and friends'; 12 children answered 'people that she knows'; 3 children answered 'trusted people'; and the other 3 children answered 'close friends'. Overall, the answers given by the child participants suggested that Emily should not add any 'strangers' to her Facebook account. In relation to the issue of strangers, the study conducted by EU Online Kids stated that children often mentioned strangers as one of their top ten issues that bothered them online (Smahel, 2014).

In order to understand further the children's views around the issue of online strangers, I asked Spy Guy what he believed a stranger could do to him while online:

*They could hack and stuff, they could hack into your account and do what you don't want. It will be annoying. (Spy Guy, P6A, Focus Group, 28 Aug 2014)*

The same perspective is evident in the excerpt below from Specs:

*They could hack your account. Like one of our classmates, he got hacked and they start sending messages to all of his friends and now most of our friends don't like him. (Specs, P7B, Focus Group, 4 Sept 2014)*

Both of these excerpts relate the existence of strangers in online environments to the risk of hacking. The effects of hacking, according to Spy Guy, would be troublesome. The same view was echoed by Specs, who explained what his friend went through after his account was hacked. Note the negative responses made by Elsa, Spy Guy and Specs regarding their perception of the unknown person on the Internet as somebody who is a 'stranger', 'dangerous', and 'a hacker'. This is similar to a study by Cernikova and colleagues (2016) who noted that those were the labels used to describe unknown people on the Internet.

The issue of 'online strangers' was also prominent in my interviews with parents. Richie's mother was among those parents who were very vocal about the existence of strangers in online environments, which is why she made the decision to locate the computer in her living room. Her excerpt below was selected as she relates the existence of strangers that her children could meet through the online games:

*Nobody thinks about games. It's so easy to talk to someone else through the game. Nobody really thinks about it, because it's Xbox or Wii or PlayStation. It's a game console. [...] It's not something that came to me that something that could happen until we had that. I think probably that some parents out there still don't realise that. (Richie's mother, Individual Interview, 5 Dec 2014)*

According to Richie's mother, while most people are concerned about strangers in SNSs, they forget the possibility that their children can also meet strangers through online games played on consoles. Indeed, online games are also played by people regardless of age

(Schutter, 2011). Online gamers can communicate by texting or by talking to each other through the consoles. The fact that children can meet 'strangers' while playing Xbox is evident from my interview with Batman who explicitly mentioned that he 'met' strangers while playing on the Xbox. In **Section 5.4** I will discuss factors that influenced children's views about strangers.

The other issue regarding strangers in the online environment was also highlighted by Richie's mother:

*[...] sometimes comments come up between other gamers, especially on Facebook. Other people speaking between themselves and even though he is not involved in that conversation but you see something that you want to comment on. I think you teach your child not to speak to strangers, but they are involving themselves in another conversation. [...] I think they are the one that I'm worried about more, because kids like to do it without realising that it is the same like talking to strangers. He is involving himself in a conversation. (Richie's mother, Individual Interview, 5 Dec 2014)*

Evidently, Richie's mother was worried about her son's spontaneous involvement in conversations with online strangers. As she said, this could happen because of children's involvement in online communication in which other people can also participate. She was of the view that children would not realise that involving themselves in a written communication with strangers was the equivalent to a conversation with them. The way in which Richie's mother explained this proves that children's online presence inevitably includes interactions with online strangers (Cernikova et al, 2016).

Richie's mother also raised the issue about the real meaning of the term 'strangers':

*I mean you can tell them, don't talk to strangers, but if they talk to this person 5 or 6 times they are not a stranger. You know they might tell you, 'that's my friend's older brother, that's my friend's dad'. I think in a child's mind, from seeing what my kids are like, a stranger is someone that they don't know, that the friends don't know, that the family doesn't know, it's someone that is not related to or involved with anyway they performed. (Richie's mother, Individual Interview, 5 Dec 2014)*

Richie's mother raised concerns about the difficulty that children might have in differentiating

between strangers. According to her, children might think that a stranger is an unknown person and is not related to anyone. The difficulty in defining who constitutes a 'stranger' led McBride (2005) and Dedkova (2015) to argue that the term 'stranger danger' is problematic, as the term and its components – i.e. who 'strangers' really are – is usually not fully elucidated to children. There are two main reasons why this issue is interesting. First, it relates to the children's development of trust. With the generalisation implicit in the word 'stranger danger', there is a possibility that children might start to believe that all 'strangers' on the Internet are dangerous, and thus cannot be trusted. In turn, we implicitly teach children that someone who is related to anyone, for example their friend's older brother or children's friend's father can be trusted, as they are no longer a stranger. However, note that in the majority of crimes involving children, the offender is actually known to the child (boyd and Hargittai, 2013). For example, a study conducted by Li (2007, p.1782) about cyberbullying among children revealed that '31.8% were bullied by their school mates, 11.4% by people outside their schools, and 15.9% by multiple sources (i.e., school mates, outside, and others)'. Secondly, the term 'stranger' danger' can be more confusing to children, as adults frequently break the rule by talking to strangers, whether offline or online (McBride, 2005). As a result, this will also have affect a child's development of trust towards their parents. The issue of trust between children and their parents will be further discussed in **Chapter 7**.

So far I have largely discussed the contact-related risks raised by the participants in this study. The other risks that were mentioned by participants, especially parent participants, are related to the content of the websites or SNSs. Two main issues were highlighted with regard to the content of the Internet. The first issue is related to the content of video-sharing sites, in this case YouTube. As Christiano's mother put it:

*[...] but still we are very careful what Christiano and friends look at, for example music videos [on YouTube], might have images that scare or upset children. I mean music videos could have some violent elements. You know dark kinds of things. (Christiano's mother, Individual Interview, 26 Sept 2014)*



During the interview, Christiano's mother specifically mentioned that she and Christiano's father installed the 'highest level of Internet parental control' on their home computer. As reflected in the excerpt above, she was of the view that without the strict Internet parental control software, their son could be exposed to violent elements contained in some of the videos, which she believes could upset her children.

The second issue with regard to the content of the Internet is related to inappropriate language used in videos, which is highlighted by Richie's mother:

*I think it's hard to filter out in YouTube. The language people say, because people, they video themselves. It could be a video to build a house on Minecraft, but the language and the words use can be completely from an adult. (Richie's mother, Individual Interview, 5 Dec 2014)*

Christiano's mother and Richie's mother raised their concerns about unwanted content posed online (in this case YouTube) as something unavoidable. As argued by Haddon (2014), parents' concern about unwanted contents was related to historic perception about media, for example seeing violence, scary images and sexual content in television. He added that how parents' view the media influenced the type of Internet parenting mediation style they use.

This section has highlighted the concern participants have regarding the existence of strangers in the online environment; this is likely associated with the contact-related risks. Risks that are related to the content of the Internet and SNSs were also discussed. Having presented the issues of the Internet, one question arose: What actually influenced participants' views of the Internet as unsafe as described by some of the participants in this section? This will be highlighted in the next section of this chapter.

## 5.4 Influencing factors

This section will discuss the factors that may have influenced the participants' views about (1) the risks on the Internet and (2) children's interaction with the Internet. This section is divided into two sub-sections: The first sub-section will discuss factors that influence child participants' views, and the second sub-section seeks to understand parent participants' views.

### 5.4.1 Factors influencing children

#### (a) Parents' influence

A considerable amount of literature has highlighted the fact that children's experiences on the Internet are largely shaped by parental concerns and fears (Livingstone and Helsper, 2008; Lwin et al. 2008; Ktoridou et al. 2012; boyd and Hargittai, 2011; Sorbring, 2012). This was also evident in data collected for this study.

Recall that in the previous section, Elsa mentioned the existence of strangers on the Internet, demonstrating that she possessed broad knowledge of issues related to the online environment. Elsa was unusual in mentioning this, and below was Elsa's mother response when I asked about her approach in educating Elsa about online safety:

*I speak to her obviously about things like paedophiles on the Internet; they pretend that they are kids and your best friends, [I told her] don't trust anybody. (Elsa's mother, Individual interview, 24 Sept 2014)*

Elsa's mother acknowledged that she had a conversation with her children about being safe on the Internet, and that she advised Elsa not to trust who she met online, suggesting that Elsa's knowledge about online strangers was influenced by her mother's advice. The same advice resonated in my conversation with other parents in this study, such as Richie's mother, Spy Guy's mother, and Minion's father:

*We told her that the Internet is not safe at all. (Minion's father, Individual Interview, 24<sup>th</sup> Oct 2014)*

Knowing what Minion's father explicitly told her about the Internet, it is interesting to note his daughter's views:

*I think it is really good that they are telling us what we should and shouldn't do because lots of things can go wrong with the Internet, [...]. If they open up to their friends a bit, they know that it is necessary, so it is good to do that because my dad is very good about the Internet. (Minion, Individual interview, 30 Oct 2014)*

Acknowledging that her father is knowledgeable about issues related to the Internet, Minion was of the opinion that what her father said about the Internet was beneficial to her. The way in which Minion explained this suggests an element of trust between her and her father. We will see an in-depth discussion on the issue of trust between Minion and her father in **Chapter 7** of this thesis.

Data from the interviews also reveal that parents' influence is not limited just to children's opinions about the Internet, but is also evident in children's engagement with the Internet. This can be seen in the case of Lion and his father:

*Yes, I like animation. I will tell them the animation I liked. We use the Internet to watch animations. (Lion's father, Individual Interview, 24 Oct 2014)*

In a separate interview, I asked Lion about this particular matter:

*Me: Does your father influence you to do this? Like origami and animation stuff?*

*Lion: Yes.*

*Me: Does your dad have Google + as well?*

*Lion: Yes.*

*Me: Do you communicate with him in Google +?*

*Lion: Yes. He sends the links for animation stuff.*

*(Lion, P7A, Individual interview, 6 Aug 2014)*

Lion affirmed that his father's interest in origami and animation had influenced his interest in such activities, and that technology, in this case Google Plus, was used to share and gain more information about their interests.

In light of what has been mentioned so far, there seems to be some evidence indicating that parents have influence over their children with regard to Internet usage, as children seemed inclined to follow or listen to what they had been told - especially what they had been told by their parents. As such, as suggested by Livingstone and Borber (2004), in order for children to maximise the opportunities and learn to minimise the online harms they need to be guided properly by parents.

#### **(b) School**

In order to further understand the role that school plays in educating children about the Internet Safety, an interview was conducted with the school's Head Teacher in January 2015. According to him, there are two ways in which the school's initiatives on Internet Safety were conducted: through (1) key events and (2) through the ICT subjects, which will be explained below.

The first initiative in inculcating pupils with awareness was through key events, for instance during the yearly Internet Safety Day, which involves pupils in activities and lessons to enhance their awareness of Internet issues. Among the activities conducted during Internet Safety Day in February was sharing a video on the Think U Know website. As explained in **Chapter 3** of this thesis, the Think U Know programme is one of the initiatives from the UK Child Exploitation and Online Protection (CEOP) Centre that promotes awareness about Internet safety to children, parents, schools, and local education authorities.

During the interview, children were asked about their sources of information regarding Internet safety, and a majority of the child participants noted that apart from parents, school was their main venue and source for learning about safety on the Internet. When asked whether they thought the annual Internet Safety Day was sufficient for learning about being

safe on the Internet, most of the child participants indicated that this initiative was already enough. However, Almaaz responded differently:

*I don't know why they are doing it once a year. I think they should do it a bit more, especially for the little kids like P4 and stuff because when I was in P4 that is when I got a little bit interested in social media. (Individual interview, Almaaz, P7B, 31 Oct 2014)*

Almaaz was of the opinion that the school should regularly conduct the Internet safety awareness activities and focus should be given to young pupils especially. Almaaz based her opinion on her own experience of starting to explore social media in P4. In fact, her experience was not unusual; during the extended pilot study, some P4s reported that they have already had SNSs accounts.

The second school initiative was on an ongoing day-to-day basis during ICT lessons or other subjects that used elements of ICT. **Chapter 4** outlines the Internet safety topics covered during the ICT class.

While it is clear that parents' views, at least in part, shape how their children see the Internet, we are yet to discover what influences the parents themselves. This will be examined in the following sub-sections.

#### **5.4.2 Factors influencing parents**

##### **(a) Media**

The media has a great influence on people's opinions about the Internet (Haddon, 2014). This view was echoed by Minion's father, Christiano's mother, and Elsa's mother, who during individual interviews, expound upon their sources of information about the Internet, which could influence their views about it.

*You hear stories here and there all the time in the media, TV and that. Of course in the newspaper and all that. We are aware of that, through mainly the TV, and the Internet itself. Of course, I studied computers. People get through the security stuff. Not mainly on the kids, but yeah. In the media you hear stories here and there.*

*People get abused online and that stuff nowadays. (Minion's father, Individual Interview, 24<sup>th</sup> Oct 2014)*

*If you look at the BBC news, it [the Internet] can be quite upsetting sometimes. So you've got to keep a close eye on it. (Christiano's mother, Individual Interview, 26 Sept 2014)*

The presentation of any issues in the media is important as it shapes the general public's perceptions of those issues. The quotations from Minion's father and Christiano's mother above suggested their negative view of media effects. Studies by Nikken and Jansz (2014), Nikken and Schols (2015), and Nikken and de Haan (2015) show that parents' views about the Internet affect their Internet parenting mediation styles. Parents with negative views about the effect of the Internet on their children tend to restrict or monitor their children while they are online; as mentioned by Christiano's mother. Based on my interviews with the above parents, it is clear that their views affect their mediation strategies with their children; this is discussed in **Section 5.5** of this chapter.

Indeed, while parents expressed concern and fear about their children meeting strangers online, none of the parents had direct experience of their child being disturbed by online strangers. Rather, the parent participants' views on the Internet were mainly based on the information they had obtained from the media, their perception on children's ability to handle risky situation online, their friends' experiences on the Internet, and from their child's school.

#### **(b) Parent's perception of children's abilities**

Beside their negative view about the Internet, parents' perception that their child is still young thus unable to deal with any risky situation online resonates in interviews with them.

According to Becca's mother:

*Well, all I would say is that I think that the Internet is an adult world and I think that Becca is a child and her ability to process the things. She doesn't have the emotional skills. She is not really fully ready to be in adult's world, so therefore I think that has to be controlled. As a parent I think I have to put some controls. (Becca's mother, Interview, 9 Oct 2014)*

Becca's mother's excerpt that the 'Internet is an adult world' suggested that she was of the view that the content accessible on the Internet is not suitable for her daughter, who, according to her, is still young and thus lacking the ability to control her emotional skills if she is exposed to such content. During the interview, Becca's mother specifically mentioned that Becca easily became worried and scared when she saw disturbing images, which justified her act of controlling Becca's online activities.

The same view was echoed by Spy Guy's, Danny's, Richie's and Christiano's mothers who raised their concern about their child's maturity and ability to cope with the experience of being exposed to violent/gory images and/or distressing content as well as coming into contact with potentially dangerous people. This finding is consistent with those of boyd and Hargittai (2013) and Sorbring (2012) who found that parents are more worried and have higher fears when their young children engaged on the Internet compared to the older ones (aged 14 and above).

### **(c) Friends' experience**

Apart from media influence, parent participants were also influenced by their friends' experiences. For example, Richie's mother became much more cautious in monitoring her son's online activities after a friend's child had a bad experience on the Internet:

*I've seen a friend's daughter, before we had a computer. My friend's daughter has a tablet. She is about 8 or 9 now. It happened about 2 years ago when she was 6 or 7. It was Wifi, so she used her tablet in her room. Her parents never thought anything of it. They thought she played games or that [...] she ended up looking at a porn video [...] Her parents were shocked looking at it. I think that made me realise that you have to be very careful because that's just how easy it is. (Richie's mother, Individual Interview, 5 Dec 2014)*

Richie's mother decision not to place the games console in her son's bedroom was influenced by the experience related in her interview, above. Family and friends play important roles in shaping parents' views on the Internet, as they are consulted more than

the professional sources, such as local institutions for parenting support, teachers, or any other knowledgeable professionals (Nikken and de Haan, 2015).

### **(c) School**

The Internet Safety awareness talk was also conducted for parents. During this meeting, a speaker, a CEOP certified trainer spoke, sharing relevant information on, for example, how to face challenges regarding children's engagement on the Internet. Among the parent participants who attended this meeting was Danny's mother, who shared her view on how she saw her son's engagement on the Internet after she attended the session:

*It made me a bit more relaxed about Danny being involved on the Internet, but it made me worry about what personally I was putting on [Facebook]. It did make me relax about community online games just the way that like he plays in the park with other people [...] because I just think that everybody out there who wants to play games with kids is not good, so [after that session] I think that, 'Oh no there are kids out there who want to play games'. It just made me relax and made me cover the topic again with Danny. (Danny's mother, Individual Interview, 18 March 2015)*

According to Danny's mother, after listening to the Internet Safety Day talk at the parent's meeting, she became calmer about her son's online gaming activities, as she realised that there were other children who also participated in the games suggesting that she acknowledged the benefits of her son's participation with the online games. This could be a reflection of the information provided by the speaker on the common sites with which children engage. One of these games was Minecraft, which was also played by Danny. Furthermore, Danny's mother added that she discussed with her son the knowledge that she had acquired during the parents' meeting.

Parents were also asked their thoughts about the school's initiatives in making pupils aware of Internet dangers. While most of the parents replied that the school initiatives were quite sufficient, Richie's mother provided a different response. Below is her reply when asked about the school's current Internet awareness initiative for pupils and parents:



*I think it [Internet safety lesson] should be more often because it has become a large part of life now. It's not just the Internet safety. With the school's Internet safety, like a stranger danger kind of thing, I think with a little intricacy, there should be more than that. Especially things like Xbox, I don't think that the teacher ever thought about it. It's not something for people that write the curriculum, being 45 or 50 years old. (Richie's mother, Individual Interview, 5 Dec 2014)*

Richie's mother commented that the school should provide Internet safety lessons more frequently to pupils, as children use the Internet on a daily basis, adding that focus should not only be given to Internet safety in general, but should also giving parents' awareness about the applications that are frequently visited by children, for example the games within Xbox. Interestingly, Richie's mother also questioned teachers' and policy makers' knowledge in setting the curriculum, a valid concern given the fact that, as technology moves so quickly, it is challenging for policy makers to set a curriculum that fits or addresses all current or future challenges posed by the Internet.

This section has explained the factors that may have influenced both child and parent participants' views. The excerpts from Minion and Elsa show that the child participants in this study were influenced to a great extent by their parents' views on the Internet. Parents' influence can also be seen in children's engagement with the Internet, as exemplified by Lion and his father. On the other hand, parents' views on the Internet, and the problems caused by it were shaped by experiences faced by their acquaintances and the media. Almost half of the parents interviewed related that their knowledge regarding this issues was obtained from the media. Finally, school also played an important role in providing education about Internet safety, not only to children, but to their parents as well. Based on the interview with Richie's mother above, one of the findings reported in this section is that the school's efforts in providing Internet safety lessons to children and parents are perceived as insufficient in terms of the frequency and content of awareness. In addition, the recent published report by the 5Rights Youth Commission's to the Scottish Government also highlighted that there is still not enough focus within schools in the area of internet safety,

cyber resilience and digital literacy, as well as a general lack of knowledge among the teaching staff to support children with digital issues (Scottish Government, 2017).

## 5.5 Parents' views about the Internet and Internet mediation strategies

The previous section has discussed the association between child participants' and their parents' views on the Internet and factors influenced. What remain unanswered was the association between parents' view about the Internet and the Internet parenting mediation strategies used. This is the aim of this section.

As described in **Chapter 3**, the active mediation and active co-use mediation strategies could be categorised as fully supportive Internet mediation strategies while the other three strategies were categorised as less supportive strategies. The fully supportive characteristic can be seen in Lion's father, who explicitly mentioned that he was not practising a restrictive type of Internet parental style with his children, and refrained from, for example, installing Internet Parenting software to check his son's Internet activities. Lion's father added that he did not have any rules about his son's use of the Internet, other than reminding him to be cautious about what he downloads or installs on their personal computer. Lion's father noted several factors that influenced his Internet parenting mediation style:

*I would say the experience of exploring. I found it very interesting to explore cyberspace myself. As you know the Internet is much wider and bigger than before. The context is more complex than before, but I think it is better for them to explore [...] I think if they do not know how to explore the Internet that would be big trouble [...] it [the Internet] is used in their daily lives. So if they do not know how to use the Internet, it will be difficult for them. (Lion, P7A, Individual interview, 6 Aug 2014)*

Lion's father related that the reason for his 'openness' regarding his children's usage of the Internet was a result of his own experience of cyberspace exploring, noting that even though the context of the Internet is becoming complex, he would still encourage his children to explore it. Lion's father additionally touches upon the fact that a lack of knowledge surrounding the benefits that the Internet has to offer would be a loss to his children, as they use it in their daily lives. As suggested by Dias and colleagues (2016), Nikken and Jansz (2014), Sonck and colleagues (2013), and Valkenburg and colleagues (1999), parents who

are positive on their children engagement on the Internet tend to co-use media with their child. Recall that in the previous section Lion mentioned how he and his father utilised technology for communication and to gain information about their interest in animation. Lion's father's view on the Internet also relates to the skills that he has in navigating the web: he specifically mentioned that he has an experience in developing and maintaining websites, and that he is also currently running a personal blog. This coincides with the study by Nikken and Schols (2015) that shows parents who are spending more time on the Internet tend to adopt a non-restrictive mediation style.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter and in **Chapter 3**, a considerable amount of studies have shown the benefits of children's engagement with the Internet. As suggested by Hasebrink and colleagues (2009), online participation benefits children in four different areas: education and learning, participation and civic engagement, creativity, and identity and social connection. Note the positive consequences resulting from such engagement—children acquire knowledge, skills and career advancement, civic engagement, creative skills, and identity and social connection. This could be what Lion's father meant earlier about the disadvantages to his children if they do not participate in the online environment.

Other than Lion's father and Danny's mother, who acknowledged the benefits of her son's engagement with online games (as discussed in the previous section), Becca's mother acknowledged that children's engagement on the Internet could develop skills that children need:

*They (children) need the skills, the technology to get in the modern world and friends. (Becca's mother, Interview, 9 Oct 2014)*

This could be the reason she allowed Becca to explore YouTube:

*Becca used it [YouTube] quite a lot for inspiration and things. I don't mind it as long as it's being used to give her inspiration and she uses it for something creative as a result of it. (Becca's mother, Interview, 9 Oct 2014)*

Becca's mother relates to the potential creativity skills Becca might develop by using YouTube. However, there was an exception in Becca's mother's statement about Becca's use of the Internet. Despite her positive view about the benefits that her daughter could gain from using the Internet, Becca's mother admitted that she is quite restrictive:

*I think I'm quite restrictive. I don't think the children are ready to have complete access to the adult world. (Becca's mother, Interview, 9 Oct 2014)*

Recall in **Section 5.4**, I discussed Becca's mother's lack of confidence regarding her daughter's ability to deal with her emotions if Becca is exposed to violence/gory images, resulting her to be restrictive about the type of online content accessed by Becca. Restrictive mediation is a common Internet parenting approach used by parents with children older than 8 years old (Nikken and Jansz, 2014; Nikken and Schols, 2015; Livingstone and Haddon, 2009). However, parents tend to decrease their active co-use and monitoring mediation and increase their active and restrictive mediation as their children grow. Some parents might consider combining the active mediation with specific restrictions in giving children autonomy on what they would like to do as well as ensuring their safety while engaging on the Internet (Nikken and Jansz, 2014). This could be what Becca's mother intended to do, as explained below:

*Well as a parent, at this age you just got to listen to them, know them and make a judgement about them. Say for instance I think it is absolutely fine for her to go and chat with friends on her own and look at Mr Froggy (YouTube videos). But I think that will change and will just grow together, give her more access to things, like probably Instagram, like Facebook but as she grows, I hope we will do it together. We will just be able to guide her to go through it. Yeah just like any other part of growing up. Have to listen to her, not boxed too much, give her a space and let her find out about the world but in a steady way. (Becca's mother, Interview, 9 Oct 2014)*

Note the supportive role that Becca's mother's intention to act upon in guiding her daughter's participation on the Internet. This suggested that Becca's mother adapts her Internet mediation style to Becca's stage of development; Becca's mother described her intention to "guide" her daughter's Internet use. When Becca's mother mentions '*guid[ing] her to go through*', this is akin to Rogoff's (1990) guided participation concept. This concept involves

structured activities with two parties participating via joint decision-making, thus supporting positive communication practices between parents and their children (Radziszewska and Rogoff, 1991). Similarly, Becca's mother is providing support to her daughter, with due involvement of Becca herself, and leading to positive communication between them.

Whilst Lion's father and Becca's mother were generally positive about the benefits the Internet could bring to their children, most of the parents in this study sounded cautious and vigilant about their children's engagement on the Internet; one such parent was Spy Guy's mother. Contrary to Lion's father, who adopted an active Internet mediation strategy, Spy Guy's mother explicitly mentioned that she 'watches' her son while he is on Facebook:

*He's got his Facebook, but he doesn't know his password. I'm on it. I'm one of his friends. So I watched him, if you know what I mean. (Interview Spy Guy's Mother, 22 Sept 2014).*

Based on the excerpt above, there were two types of non-active Internet mediation strategies used by Spy Guy's mother. First, by keeping Spy Guy's Facebook's password from him, his mother used a restrictive mediation strategy. She controlled when Spy Guy could access his Facebook account. Second, she monitored her son's activities online – not only Facebook, but also on his Xbox console, where she specifically mentioned that she checked the messages that her son received from other players. Contrary to Lion's father, who could be considered an Internet literate parent, Spy Guy's mother explicitly mentioned that she does not know much about the Internet, again supporting Nikken and Schols' (2015) argument that parental knowledge about the Internet has an effect on their Internet mediation strategy.

Other than their knowledge about the Internet, the other aspect that has an effect on the type of Internet parental mediation use is related to parents' views on the positive and negative effects of the media on children. As stated, Lion's father's positive expectation about the benefits that the Internet brings to his children lead him to apply liberal Internet mediation

strategies. On the other hand, parents who are concerned about possible risks and harm brought by the media deliberately limit their child from access to the Internet (Ito et al, 2010).

This characteristic can be seen on Christiano's mother based on the excerpts below:

*I'm very aware of the types of risks, and the type of access that people could have to children if he is not careful. So whether they like it or not, they have quite a strict parent. (Christiano's mother, Individual Interview, 26 Sept 2014)*

Note that Christiano's mother is concerned about the risks that Christiano could face if he is not careful while using the Internet. This is especially clear in the way she and her husband mediate their son's use of the Internet, wherein she would not let Christiano use the Internet without a parent, suggesting that there is an element of monitoring with Christiano's Internet activities. Moreover, recall that in **Section 5.3** Christiano's mother was so concerned about the negative content of the Internet that she and her husband decided to install the Internet parental control software on their home computer. The use of the Internet parental control software is a technical restriction, one of the Internet parental mediation strategies (Livingstone et al, 2008).

Overall, this section has discussed the relationship between parents' views of the Internet and the type of mediation strategies they applied. While a limited number of parents participated in interviews, their response parallel with those in other studies as mentioned above. Parents' knowledge about the Internet and positive attitudes towards media effects are important in shaping the way they mediate children's use of the Internet, tending to support their child's use of the opportunities while still being able to manage the risks of the Internet.

## 5.6 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of how the participants in this study viewed the Internet. Children were asked about their online activities, and the findings suggest that they engage mostly in SNSs, instant messaging, YouTube, and online gaming. As expressed in the first section of this chapter, the child participants use the Internet to socialise, gain information for their schoolwork, search for entertainment and leisure, and generally explore to develop and expand their creativity. With regard to their activities, the children in this study were more engaged with online games than with SNSs. Note that most of the online activities performed by children have an element of what they did in the offline environment, indicating that children are mirroring what they do offline in the online environment. Another important finding was that the child participants were aware of issues related to SNSs, such as age requirements and how people lie about their age in order to open SNS account.

In terms of risks that were frequently mentioned, the participants relate to content, contact and conduct-related risks. Despite the fact that none of the participants mentioned having being manipulated by strangers through the Internet, they continued to highlight the existence of strangers in that environment. The other significant finding in this chapter is the dependency that children have towards their parents with regard to their engagement on the Internet. When asked about the Emily vignette, all suggestions by the child participants led to a discussion with their parents. Based on the data and excerpts discussed in this chapter, it is clear that the majority of the parent participants were cautious and vigilant about their children's engagement on the Internet. The way they explained the risks of the Internet suggested that they thought the Internet was an 'unsafe place', full of 'strangers', which could harm their children. However, despite being cautious and vigilant, the parents still allowed their children to participate in online activities due to their children's wish to be 'there' together with their friends, as well as to utilise the benefits that the Internet offers.



Indeed, parents' views on the Internet are related to their Internet parental strategies. Some of the parents in this study, for example Richie's mother and Christiano's mother, are adopting a monitoring type of Internet parenting mediation style. This could be seen as invading children's online privacy. According to boyd (2014), Mathiesen (2013), Nolan and colleagues (2010), and Rooney (2010), the act of monitoring children's online activities could be viewed as a form of privacy invasion. This raises interesting questions about the relationship between parents' view on privacy, Internet parenting mediation style used, children's view of their online privacy and also the trust relationship between children with their parents. These questions will be answered in the subsequent chapters.

## Chapter 6: The Meanings of Privacy

### 6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we have seen how children and parents in this study perceived the online environment as an unsafe place, yet children still participate due to the desire to engage socially with friends virtually. I now take this analysis further by looking at the meanings of privacy from children's perspectives, and seeking to understand them in the context of the previous chapter's findings. Crucially, I acknowledge Solove's notion of privacy, which suggests that privacy is an elastic concept, from which no one can articulate a definite meaning. The aim of this chapter, however, is not to simplify the complexities of privacy, but to explore children's views on privacy.

This chapter is organised as follows: **Section 6.2** will answer the first research question (RQ1) What are children's views of online privacy? In doing so, various meanings of privacy given by the children will be discussed. Subsequently, **Section 6.3** will discuss how children in this study realised that their online privacy had been violated. The children's privacy relationships with the 'actors' in the online environment will be discussed under Nissenbaum's Contextual Integrity (CI) theory, which emphasises the contextual importance of privacy. The final section, **Section 6.4** focuses on answering the second research questions (RQ2) What are parents' views of online privacy? Do their views on privacy influence how they deal with their children's privacy? **Section 6.5** concludes.

## 6.2 The meanings of privacy to children

The aim of this section is to answer the first research question of this study, i.e. What are children's views of online privacy? While this study seeks to understand what children's views of privacy are in the online context, it is equally important to grasp how they think about privacy in other spheres of communication, specifically in the offline context. I begin by exploring how children view the meaning of privacy in general before discussing the ways in which they differentiate between offline and online privacy: for example, their privacy strategies and factors that affect their views.

### 6.2.1 Children's meanings of privacy

As discussed in **Chapter 2**, privacy is an elastic concept, one that no-one can decisively articulate, which leads to diverging definitions (Allen, 1988; Solove, 2008). Such discrepancies were echoed by the child participants in this study, who described privacy as having their own physical space and also 'keeping things to yourself'.

#### a) Privacy as having one's own physical space

There were a variety of views on the meaning of privacy expressed by child participants: for example, 'being alone', 'personal space', 'not being seen', 'being safe' and 'keeping secret'. Among these definitions, 'being alone' was mentioned by a large number of child participants.

There were a few interpretations that could be made of 'being alone', one of which was non-intrusion. Goldie Lock's view of privacy was similar to this idea of non-intrusion. He identified privacy as '*Just doing what you want and no one disturbs you*' (Individual interview, 30 Sept 2014). When asked for an example of not being disturbed, he said '*Like you're playing on your game and nobody walks in and stands over you*'. To Goldie Lock, privacy occurs, for example, whenever he can play games without being disturbed. Goldie Lock's stance of privacy as being left alone not only relates to offline situations, but also to his engagement on the Internet, where he expressed discomfort at being disturbed by someone while online:

*On the Internet there is somebody sitting there sending me 'Hi' messages about 100 times and you get really annoyed (Individual interview, 30 Sept 2014).*

Goldie Lock mentioned being 'annoyed' when someone sent him repetitive messages on the Internet. 'Annoyed' here refers to a feeling of displeasure, which according to Selbst (2013) is an indication that the information norm has been breached. As discussed in **Chapter 2**, according to Nissenbaum (2004), a privacy violation occurs when expected norms of information flows are disrupted. Based on the excerpt above, Goldie Lock is of the view that the act of receiving too many messages is considered a disruption of expected norms. There will be more examples and discussion about privacy violations in **Section 6.3** of this chapter.

Other child participants who held similar views of privacy as avoiding intrusion were Mike and Elsa. Mike said, '*Being left alone, with nobody around you. Like maybe you're doing something like a diary. You don't want anybody to look*' (Focus Group P6, 25<sup>th</sup> Aug 2014). Elsa (P6) expressed the same view when I asked her whether she has privacy when at home:

*I get privacy, I write my own diary. 2 diaries with padlock and I hide the keys, so that my younger brother can't read it (Elsa, Individual interview, 11 Sept 2014).*

Elsa managed her privacy at home by writing in her diary and ensuring it was secured from her brother. Both of these excerpts were selected as they were the only participants who related privacy to writing in a diary. The importance of the contents of a diary is captured by Johnson (2002), who argues:

*"The contents of a personal diary are extremely private. A diary contains the writer's fears, desires, and insecurities – all of which the writer does not want to share with others" (p.153)*

The use of a diary could be associated with the effort to create a private space by the writer: it is the act of someone experiencing privacy with the expectation that they are the only one who has access and control over the diary.

The other interpretation to privacy as 'being alone' is related to having positive isolation. With regard to this, Minion's (P7) excerpt was selected as it provides the most detailed view about privacy as 'positive isolation':

*I think privacy is very important, because you need time to yourself, like if you have a hard day at school or something happened to you, you will need time to yourself because you might get slightly annoyed and things keep going round in your head and stuff (Minion, Individual Interview, 30 Oct 2014)*

Minion was of the view that being alone or isolating herself from other people could help her release and process the stresses of daily life. This suggests that what Minion said about 'taking time out' is equitable to the phrase 'give me some space', often uttered by someone who needs time to his/herself. 'Space' in this context refers to emotional space, that is, taking time for oneself. Note that **Chapter 2** discussed Westin's (1967) four functions of privacy for an individual, one of them being emotional release. Privacy as the expectation of being alone relates to emotional release as individuals are able to escape temporarily or relax from the stresses of daily life to cope with loss, shock, and sorrow.

The other child participant who acknowledged privacy as having positive isolation was Popcorn (P7B):

*I think privacy is quite an important thing, that you get time to yourself and just to get away from everyone. But it is also nice to see your family and friends, but sometimes you also need your time, say go to different room and sit by yourself. (Popcorn, Focus groups, 5<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014)*

Similar to Minion, Popcorn associates having time to oneself and being isolated from other people as important for having privacy. The significance and importance for children of experiencing positive isolation and having their private space are highlighted by Steeves (2006, p. 184), who argues that 'children's construction of privacy is also implicated in the development of their sense of identity'. As such, children tend to seek out private spaces for themselves to have 'safe seclusion or group activities with close friends as part of the process of construction of self as a reflexive and symbolic project' (Abbot-Chapman and Robertson, 2001, p. 506).

Viper (P7) also acknowledged the importance of privacy as having time to one's self:

*I feel good [having privacy] if you have a secret or something, you go to upstairs; you might feel a bit sad because you're alone, but you need time to yourself. You might be sad if you have a secret, you want to tell someone to make a bit it easier to you, but it might be embarrassing, so you might want to keep it to yourself. (Viper, Focus Group P7B, 5 Sept 2014)*

There were differences in the idea of privacy as having positive isolation as expressed by Minion, Popcorn and Viper. Minion related to the need for isolation to release her stress after school, while Popcorn said she needed to be isolated from her family; Viper, on the other hand, related with having a secret that he just wanted to keep it to himself. This shows that child participants seek privacy to varying degrees for different types of activities and from relationships (Parke, 1979).

The above examples about privacy as 'positive isolation' were in the offline privacy context. The data collected also indicate that children related privacy to being alone in the online environment. During the interviews, I asked for the children's views about in which environment they thought it was easier to manage their privacy. The overall result indicated that the majority (26 of 35) of child participants were of the view that offline privacy is more easily achieved compared to online privacy. However, there were a small number of child participants (9 of 35) who disagreed. In these 9 cases, the participants identified the privacy settings as able to provide adequate and flexible functions to assist them with online anonymity, or with removing or blocking people from communicating with them, as facilitating the ease with which they could obtain online privacy. Among these participants was Robster, who explicitly said *'Internet is quite easy, cause on the Internet you can put your profile on private'* (Focus Group, P7B, 4 Sept 2014). Tavani's (2007) seclusion theory of privacy, mentioned above, relates to physical access through observation, suggesting that privacy as 'being alone' can be equated to 'not being seen'. In line with this, Robster was of the view that setting his profile to private enabled him to 'not be seen' by other people while online, thus ensuring his privacy. However, unlike the offline environment, where a person can be alone by secluding himself in his bedroom or another place, 'being alone' in the context of the online environment is somehow different. When someone sets their online SNS profile to 'private', this does not mean that they are invisible to other users. It merely means that their profile is only accessible to people who follow them. This suggests that the concept 'privacy' for children in the context of the online environment can include people close to them.

So far I have discussed privacy, as being alone, as avoiding intrusion and having potential positive isolation. Note there is a difference in meaning between avoiding intrusion and having positive isolation, in that the former relates to the 'unwarranted intrusion' upon physical space while the latter relates to physical access through observation. However, despite such different interpretations, there is a similarity between these two concepts which lies in the need of physical access to enable the exercise of privacy. Note that almost every excerpt provided by child participants above mentioned the need for physical space as a requirement to exercising privacy.

To explicate further the meaning of privacy as related to physical space, the below excerpts from Liger (P6B) and Viper(P7B) were selected:

*Liger: Privacy, something where nobody is there and you are just by yourself. Sitting in toilet that nobody there. That's privacy. (Focus Group P6B, 26 Aug 2014)*

*Viper: Privacy is like when you get yourself alone, not with anyone else, maybe outside, or in your bedroom or something. Like during teatime you go down and then you go up again to your bedroom and stuff like that. (Focus Group P7B, 5 Sept 2014)*

Note that Liger said 'nobody' and 'just by yourself', while Viper mentioned 'not with anyone else' indicating the need to be alone with no other people around them. Liger and Viper specifically mentioned the locations 'toilet' and 'bedroom', which signify the need for physical space to exercise their privacy. The bedroom was frequently mentioned by child participants as a place to have privacy at home. Indeed, this 'bedroom culture' among children is not something new, as highlighted by Livingstone:

*"The bedroom becomes meaningful through the conjunction of all three rationales... it provides a convenient location in which personal goods can be gathered and maintained. It provides a means of escape from interruptions, interference and gaze of others. And it facilitates the routine (re) enactment of a desired identity" (Livingstone, 2007, p 8).*

Livingstone acknowledges that children utilise the bedroom as a space in which they can experience their growing independence from their family life, that they have the ability to be in control of their own territory, compared to the other places in the house. This was evident in Robster's (P7) excerpt: *'I just do whatever I want to do in my bedroom'*, suggesting the control that he possesses when in his bedroom compared to other places in his house. The ability to

have control may also relate to having *personal autonomy*, which is another function of privacy for individuals (Westin, 1967), as discussed in **Chapter 2**. In addition, the connection of children's privacy and the locale of the bedroom was also acknowledged by parents in this study, which will be discussed in **Section 6.4**.

Overall, the views on privacy given by Viper, Minion, Mike, Elsa, Specs and Robster suggested that children in this study recognised privacy in terms of both physical and emotional spatial dimensions. Space also could be in terms of writing a diary or being online, as illustrated by Mike, Elsa, Specs and Robster. The above discussions indicated that space plays an important role in children's privacy, as it enables them to assert their autonomy and relax from stress, to keep secrets, to control their personal information by writing in a diary and to escape temporarily from parents and friends.

#### **b) Privacy as keeping things to oneself**

Privacy as 'keeping things to yourself' was the other common view expressed by child participants when asked about what they understand about privacy. Below, excerpts from focus groups with Aza (P7), Almaaz (P7) and Wonderwomen (P6) represent the common view expressed by children in this study regarding this notion of privacy:

*Aza: You have anything personal and you want to keep it yourself or just like pick a few friends and you can tell other people that you can trust (Focus Group P7B, 1 Sept 2014)*

*Almaaz: I think privacy is something personal that you don't really want to share (Focus Group P7B, 1 Sept 2014)*

*Wonderwomen: I think privacy is when you're on Facebook and you can keep things to yourself and who you want to know (Focus Group 6A, 28 Aug 2014)*

Aza associates privacy with keeping personal matters to himself or between himself and someone he trusts. The way Aza explained privacy suggests control of his personal information, so that only friends he trusts know specific information. Note that Wonderwomen (P6) and Almaaz (P7) highlighted the same ideas. In sum, privacy as 'keeping things to yourself', as explained by these three children, suggests it is related to one's control and ability to manage his or her personal or contact information, as posited by Alan Westin (1967).



Privacy as control over information was also echoed by Becca, who contended that one should hide his or her personal information:

*Like not sharing personal information. Like where you live, what school you go to and like phone number and stuff because they could keep annoying you. Like accounts and stuff (Becca, Focus Group P6B, 25<sup>th</sup> Aug 2014)*

Becca's statement 'cause they could keep annoying you' suggests the possibility that sharing personal or contact information could go against one's interests. This was a common understanding that most of the children and some of the parents in this study had about personal information being disclosed to others, especially strangers. The act of revealing personal information is often associated with violations of privacy and 'risky' behaviour. Such lack of concern for privacy was a common concern made to children and young people who like to share their personal information on social networking sites, blogs or other online environment platforms (Marwick et al, 2010). However, Tufekci (2008) argues that there is no correlation between disclosing personal information and a lack of concern about privacy, as young people use different strategies to maintain their online privacy.

Privacy as 'keeping things to yourself' is related to the act of controlling personal information, and as such the way in which children control their information is particularly relevant to the discussion. With regard to privacy strategies taken by child participants, the data show that almost all of the children indicated that they managed their online privacy by implementing structural strategies such as blocking people they do not trust, leaving games that involve too many people and configuring the SNS privacy settings to 'private'. The below excerpt from Becky further illustrates structural strategies adopted:

*On my Instagram account, I set it to private, you can only see my username. I think that's really good. If you have a private page, nobody could see what you have unless they send a friendship request. On my Instagram, I don't use my full name. (Becky, Focus Group P7A, 1 Sept 2014).*

Apart from using a fake name on Instagram as part of her online privacy strategy, Becky and other child participants in this study were of the opinion that setting their accounts to private would prevent their profile from being seen by people who were not on their Instagram's friend list. This suggests that they imagined that their 'friends' were only people they chose to be

'friends' with on the SNS. The act of filtering their 'friend' on SNSs depicts how challenging children find controlling their information on the Internet. As argued by boyd (2014, p. 32), children 'need to grapple with who can see their profile, who actually does see it, and how those who do see it will interpret it'.

Privacy as 'keeping things to yourself' correlates with challenges in managing privacy in the online environment. With regard to this, Sarah's (P7) excerpt was selected as it was exceptional compared to other views:

*'I think privacy is important like you don't want other people to know about yours and same back to them; they don't want others to know about theirs' (Individual interview, 30<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014).*

Her point is interesting as she relates that the need for privacy is reciprocal. Along these lines is the suggested expectation that privacy ought to be respected. However, Sarah's statement '*you don't want other people to know about yours*' raises an interesting question: is it possible for us to control our information by not letting others know about us in the online environment? The answer could be yes; it is possible for us to disallow others to know about us provided we never tell or share anything personal with anyone else, which according to Hasinoff and Shepherd (2014) would be the safest way to control the information. However, human beings need other people to talk to for emotional release and support: this will involve sharing personal information. As argued by Selbst (2013), the act of sharing personal information with someone is a key factor in defining social relationships. Additionally, in the online environment, the act of sharing is a central component of participation (Marwick and Boyd, 2014). The act of sharing personal information relates to the ability to control information, which indirectly requires skills and knowledge, particularly when it comes to sharing in the online environment. Recall the discussion from **Chapter 2** about the challenges of controlling information in the online environment. Information disclosed online will be stored for a long time (persistence), is easily duplicated (replicability), is potentially widely visible (scalability), and is also easily accessible (searchability). Thus, in the online environment, privacy as 'keeping things to yourself' is incredibly challenging to practice.

Overall, this finding is consistent with those of Zhang-Kennedy and colleagues (2016) that showed children resort to traditional definitions of privacy such as being left alone (nonintrusive) and positive isolation (away from other people). Additionally, the children in their study had an understanding of online privacy which is based on control notions like keeping things to yourself. Notably, the children in this study expressed various views regarding privacy. However, the variety of definitions supplied by the children implies that privacy as described above refers to children's expectations of people around them to respect their space, in both the offline and online environments, reflecting the autonomy they expect others to respect. The next subsection will explore how children in this study differentiated offline and online privacy.

### **6.2.2 Differences between online and offline privacy**

#### **(a) Privacy threat in offline and online environment**

As defined in **Chapter 1** and described in **Chapter 2**, this study distinguished between 'offline' and 'online' settings – while recognising the contentions of this dichotomy in the social media research literature. The distinction was held throughout the thesis, however, as both parents and children participating in this study almost invariably perceived differences between 'online' and 'offline' privacy. None of the parent participants had questions about the terms' meanings. Child participants easily used the phrase 'being online', which they related to their time spent engaging with the Internet, including playing online games and using SNSs. The meaning of offline privacy, however, was less clear to several child participants and some explication was given during the focus groups.

While the distinction had certain salience to participants and analysis, online and offline privacy were not completely separated spheres. As discussed in **Chapter 2**, scholars – such as Williams (2006), Subrahmanyam and colleagues (2008) and Staksrud and colleagues (2013) argue that, to understand what goes on online, it is essential to understand first what happens offline: for example, the social relationships one has in the online context are often continuous with the relationships one has offline (Livingstone and Helsper, 2007). In light of this, during

the focus groups and interview sessions the children were asked about the differences between offline and online privacy. Data revealed that there were differences in how children perceived privacy threats in the online and offline environments. The presence of siblings was mentioned most when the topic of privacy at home was discussed. Among the most common reasons identified for difficulty of obtaining privacy at home was due to siblings, as illustrated by Diavlo (P6), Bobby (P6) and Liger (P6):

*Diavlo: Well because my brother and little sister keep on coming to my mum's and my room and then my brother's friends come over and they start messing about when I'm on the computer, playing games and then sometimes they turn off their electricity and then no one can play on the computer. (Focus group, 25<sup>th</sup> Aug 2014)*

*Bobby: I think it's different cause on online you can set your stuff to private and no one can look at it unless you show them. If in your house, you want privacy, my brother keeps following me, but in online he can't do that because I set to private. (Focus group, 26<sup>th</sup> Aug 2014)*

*Liger: Sometimes because my little brother following me everywhere, copying me. If I want to go to the toilet, he wants to go to the toilet. So I have to lock the door sometimes. Sometimes I have to lock the door coz I want to be left alone. (Focus group, 26<sup>th</sup> Aug 2014)*

All of them relate the presence of their siblings in the place where they want to have privacy at home as disturbing, thus making it difficult to achieve privacy at home. Diavlo not only mentioned the presence of her siblings, but also his brother's friends, while Bobby made a comparison between two spheres of privacy, and indicated the difficulties for seeking privacy from his brother at home compared to when online. Note that there were similarities between Bobby's and Liger's statements regarding their uneasy feelings about being followed by their younger brothers. Liger mentioned locking the door as privacy marker. In fact, almost all child participants who mentioned privacy at home identified locking or closing their bedroom door as a privacy marker.

Parents' presence as a privacy threat was also mentioned when topic of privacy at home was discussed. However, children's feelings of unease about parents as a privacy threat at home was much more rarely mentioned compared to siblings. Holly's (P6) was among those who discussed parents as a privacy threat:

*Well. Again I don't really care if my parents know and when I'm doing homework and they're always hovering over me but I wish they don't hover me when I'm doing my stuff. (Focus groups, 27<sup>th</sup> Aug 2014)*

It is clear from her explanation that Holly is aware that her parents monitor her, but she does not mind that practice. However, along the same lines, Holly expressed an expectation that she not be monitored when doing private 'stuff'. It could be that children are accustomed to the practice of parents hovering, even accepting the act of hovering as a norm.

The same thought was also revealed by child participants with regard to maintaining privacy in the online environment. More than half of the child participants viewed 'being supervised by their parents' while in the online environment as an expected social norm. In **Chapter 4** I discussed the results of the focus group discussion on the vignette about Emily, 11, who wants to open a Facebook account. The results showed that the majority (24 out of 30) of the child participants who responded to the question suggested that she should refer to her parent so that her parent could assist her in opening the account. Additionally, more than three quarters (19 out of 22) of the children who responded to the question of whether Emily should add her mother as her Facebook friend suggested that she should do so. Both of these results signify children's assumption that by having parent as one of Facebook's account would help them to be 'protected' in the online environment. The rest of the discussion on privacy violation in child-parent relationships of will be discussed in **Section 6.3**.

Whilst siblings were identified by child participants as a source of privacy threat in the offline environment, this was not the case in the online environment. Instead, online strangers were identified as the main threat. This related to what was discussed in **Chapter 5** regarding children's negative perceptions about the presence of strangers in the online environment; they concluded that managing privacy in the online environment is more challenging compared to the offline environment, which will be further discussed below.

### **(b) Online privacy is more challenging to manage than offline privacy**

Children differentiate privacy in the online and offline environments based on multiple criteria, which will be discussed below through interview excerpts from Specks, Almaaz and Liger. Again, the spatial element resonated when these differences were discussed. In addition, accessibility - referring to the number of people in the audience - was also mentioned. For example: Specks (P7) noted that, *"Yeah there is a massive difference because at home, it can be only four people and online there can be millions of people"* (Specks, Focus Group P7B, 4 Sept 2014). This suggests that Specks, and indeed many child participants in this study felt the same, views the Internet as crowded with lots of people. Almaaz (P7) takes this one step further by associating the Internet with the un-familiarity of people. According to Almaaz, *"It's not the same. Well with privacy at home, like all the people that you know and on the Internet a lot of people you don't know"* (Almaaz, Focus Group P7B, 4 Sept 2014). Liger (P6), however, sees the difference in terms of people's presence. According to her, *"It's different. [...] I don't see people that I'm really talking [on the computer] to and I only can see pictures of them"* (P6B, Focus Group 26 Aug 2014). These three excerpts were selected as they show the connection between the four elements (space, number of audience, familiarity, and people's presence) that are related to the differences between online and offline privacy. The majority of children in this study were of the opinion that the Internet is full of strangers and not all of the 'actors' can be seen (unless communication using the webcam is used), while home is for family members or friends, in which one's presence can be seen.

These same reasons were echoed in the children's answers regarding their opinions on in which environment privacy is viewed as more important and more difficult to be achieve, and in which environment it is easier to manage. The following excerpts were chosen as they provide the most detailed reasoning on why privacy is more difficult to achieve when online:

*Well I think maybe that a bit more important is the Internet, because it has people that you don't know. At home there are people that you do know. Especially when you're on the Internet, you can like say lots of things and there are a lot of people on the Internet. It is slightly more important because like especially if someone is trying to get into or find out where you are. (Minion, Focus Group, P7B, 5 Sept 2014)*

Minion's classmate, Popcorn (P7), supported this opinion:

*I agree with Minion. I think the Internet is more important cause it has a lot more people and, at home, you still have a lot of people if you stay with your grandparents, but people on the Internet, if they find you, they have friends that might find you as well, so it's better to keep private. Both are still important, but on the Internet is more important. (Popcorn, Focus Group P7B, 5 Sept 2014).*

As expressed by these participants as well as three-quarters of the child participants in this study, the presence of strangers in the online environment is identified as the main reason why online privacy is more important. Minion and Popcorn also made comparisons between the numbers of people in both environments. According to Popcorn, even though there can be a lot of people in the house, they are people who are known to the child. Both of them also referred to the *searchability* attribute the Internet offers that enables them to be 'seen' by strangers.

Child participants were also asked to identify in which environment they think it is easier to obtain privacy. Of the 35 children who responded to this question, 26 explicitly indicated that it is much easier for them to achieve privacy at home, i.e. offline, which indicates that the majority of these children concur with the view that it is more challenging to obtain privacy in the online environment. Among the most common reasons given by the child participants was illustrated by Derp Guy, Bridget and Batman:

*Derp Guy: I think it is easier at home, because online you can't just push people out of your room. At home you can say, 'Oh please go out from this room'. (Focus group P7B, 1<sup>st</sup> Sept 2014).*

*Bridget: Probably at home, because you can just close the curtain, or lock the door or something. But with the Internet, you have to go change the settings and stuffs. (Focus group P7A, 1<sup>st</sup> Sept 2014).*

*Batman: Probably at home because when you go outside you can walk by yourself. On the Internet, you have to setup and click everything to private to get privacy, and block everybody that you don't want. (Focus group P7B, 5<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014).*

These three excerpts were selected as they provide different views about the ease of having privacy at home compared to the online environment. All of them relate the ease of accessing privacy at home with the ease of getting people to leave them alone, which is difficult to do in the online environment. Bridget and Batman stressed that it is easier to obtain privacy at home

as it take less effort than when online. Bridget and Batman were of the opinion that, when online, various strategies need to be taken with regard to SNS settings in order to obtain privacy. As highlighted by boyd (2014), in order to know strategies to handle the privacy management of SNSs, one must have certain digital skills and knowledge; the nature of the Internet as mentioned by boyd (2014) is that it is public by default and private by effort, which is consistent with Bridget's view on the difficulties in obtaining privacy online due to the complexities of SNSs privacy settings (boyd, 2014; Marwick and boyd, 2014). Specifically looking to Facebook, these authors argue that the privacy settings are problematic and confusing and, additionally, their changing nature was yet another issue to which users needed to be alerted (Stutzman et al, 2012).

In managing privacy online, most child participants indicated that they applied basic SNS protection strategies (such as privacy settings, passwords, not accepting friend requests from unknown people and blocking people), which show the reliance they have on the reliability of the privacy functions of SNS, as the same time indicating the trust that they have of them. This finding about the common SNS protection strategies applied by children is similar to what has been highlighted by Lobe (2014). In addition, despite child participants' acknowledgment of the applied basic SNS protection strategies, only a very small number of them know where the privacy settings are located on SNSs. One reason for this could be similar to what has been highlighted by Zhang-Kennedy and colleagues (2016): all the privacy settings are set up and controlled by parents. Zhang-Kennedy and colleagues also questioned children's understanding of how to apply the concept of privacy online, and argue that children's lack of apprehension on how to protect their privacy in the online environment was due to parents' attitude of overly protecting their children.

This section has discussed the way child participants view and manage privacy in both the offline and online environments. The next section will discuss how children in this study realised that their privacy had been violated while engaging with the online environment.



### 6.3 Privacy in context

**Chapter 2** of this thesis discussed Nissenbaum's Contextual Integrity (CI) theory, which emphasises that privacy should be assessed contextually, realising that the traditional concept of privacy, such as privacy as control, fails to address privacy in the online environment. CI also stresses adherence to the expected norms of information flow specific to that context, failing which constitutes a violation of privacy (Nissenbaum, 2010). Exercising CI requires the four components of an information norm to be defined first. They are: context, actors, attributes, and transmission principles components. Here, the context is referring to children's participation on the Internet, while the actors are the children themselves, their parents, their siblings or family members, the online service provider, and also online 'strangers'. The attributes in this case refer to the children's online activities, which also includes their children's personal information, hobbies and interests, their current and past activities, lists of acquaintances, location, and time of access. All of this information could be obtained once the children engage on the Internet, particularly on SNSs. Finally, the transmission principles, refer to the 'rule' part of the norm. In this case it is referring to the expectation that the Internet actors have with regards to their privacy towards the other Internet actors.

Note that as argued by Selbst (2013, p.650), 'people's indignation, anxiety, fear, anger over a privacy violation are evidence that an informational norm has been breached'. As such, in this study children's views regarding whether they felt their expected information norm had been breached can be captured through their feelings, for example when they express discouraged words such as 'annoyed', 'angry', 'frustrated', and 'terrible'.

The rest of this is organised as follows: The first subsection will discuss the issue of privacy between children and their parents related to the monitoring of children's online activities. Subsequently, the second subsection will discuss children's privacy expectations in relation to other 'actors' of the Internet.

### 6.3.1 Privacy in the context of child-parent relationships

The issue of privacy between children and their parents is not new. In the offline context, parents invade their children's privacy by going through their schoolbags, searching their rooms or reading their personal diaries (Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat, 2010). The Internet has added another dimension of potential privacy invasion by parents of their children, through monitoring online activities (Mathiesen, 2013; Nolan et al, 2010; Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat, 2010; Rooney, 2010).

Mathiesen (2013) argues that, even in the name of safety, it is ethically inappropriate for parents to monitor their children online as children are entitled to have the right to some degree of privacy. The effects of monitoring or surveillance not only cause a person to feel extremely uncomfortable, but also alter his/her behaviour (Solove 2006). Even though the act of surveillance is seen as a deterrence to wrongdoing, as a whole it can adversely impact 'freedom, creativity and self-development' (Solove, 2006, p.494). Recall that in **Chapter 2** mentioned the association between the act of monitoring or surveillance and privacy harm, as it is related to emotional, moral, and social harm (Calo, 2011).

Recall the previous section highlighted child participants' preference to refer to parents about their online activities and viewed 'being supervised by their parents' in the online environment was the expected social norm. With regard to this, I further asked the child participants whether it is OK or acceptable for Emily's mother to have the intention to know everything about Emily's online activities, including her Facebook statuses. The excerpt below from James Bond's (P7) focus group interview has been selected, as he provided the most detailed view on why it is OK for Emily's mother to monitor her online activities closely:

*I think that's perfect and normal. I think that it is really good that she [Emily's mother] wants to know what she is doing. That's means she wants her to keep safe. She wants nothing to happen to her. That means her mother knows where she is, like she told her mother she wants to go to a park or the shops. So her mother would know and make sure that she is safe. If she told her that she went home, then Facebook is a good way to tell. Her mother can text her, are you on your way stuff like that. (Focus Group P7A, 1 Sept 2014)*

James Bond was of the view that it is acceptable for Emily's mother to be 'nosy' about Emily's online activities. The 'safety' theme - highlighted in **Chapter 5** - resonates in James Bond's response. Note that James Bond also mentioned the use of SNSs as a tool of communication between Emily and her mother, which shows that online communications are integrated in the child-parent relationship with regards to the parents' obligation to keep children safe, both in an online and offline context. James Bond's view is that it is acceptable for Emily's mother to be friends with Emily on Facebook, which was based on James' own experience; in another discussion he specifically said that the first thing his mother did when she created his Facebook account for him was to 'friend' him. Implicitly, what was expressed by James Bond suggests that children expect their parents to keep them safe and because of that they are willing to trade complete privacy by accepting the possibility that their online activities may be monitored by their parents. The other child participants who were of the same view as James Bond were Elsa, Spy Guy, Sarah, Fire Red, Ponny, Becky, Bob and Football whose views suggested that 'being supervised by their parents' in the online environment is an expected social norm, as discussed in **Chapter 5**.

However, as mentioned above, not all of the child participants had the same view as James Bond and the others mentioned. Among the dissenters was Neymar (P7). The below discussion was to highlight Neymar's and Sparkly's different views regarding whether Emily should add her mother as a Facebook's friend:

*Neymar: But then if she [Emily] adds her mum then she would not have privacy that she wants. Say like she has friend, say Jane and she wants to have like two of them, and want to share something secret. But her mum was in Facebook, so she could not have enough privacy*

*Sparkly: I would say, Emily should add her mum, but then if her friends want to tell her something private, she could say to her mum, to ask her mum to go offline*

*Neymar: Sparkly, you can't do that because how would Emily know if she really offline? Her mum would be curious, if she asked her to be offline, what she is going to say? How do Emily really know that her mum didn't see what she is doing?*

*Sparkly: I would think that is OK. Her mum just doesn't want her to be in trouble. She just wants to protect her*

*Neymar: Yes, but sometimes it can be really annoying because you need to have your own privacy. Like if you're get older and your mum still doing this business and this is really annoying. Then you could fall out, really badly. You could not talk to each other.*

*(Focus group P7A, 2<sup>nd</sup> Sept 2014).*

As indicated in the discussion above, Neymar was clearly against the idea of Emily adding her mother as a Facebook friend, the argument being that Emily would not then have enough privacy. Sparkly, on the other hand, was of the view that Emily should add her mother for safety reasons – similar reasons echoed by James Bond. Sparkly even suggested Emily to tell her mother to go “offline”, suggesting Emily’s mother not interfere with Emily’s private discussion with her friends. Sparkly’s suggestion, however, was doubted by Neymar, who queried whether this would really make Emily free from her mother’s online supervision. Neymar also foresaw that Emily asking her mother to go “offline” would make Emily’s mother curious. Neymar’s explanation suggested that he relates to the issue to trust of one’s parent(s).

At the end of the conversation, Neymar expressed his frustration about the act of parental online monitoring. According to Selbst (2013), the upset feeling as expressed by Neymar, is an indication that one’s privacy has been breached. Neymar’s excerpt also represented his view that online privacy means ‘being alone’ and ‘having his own space’. Along these line, the last excerpt by Neymar indicates his realisation that the continuous act of monitoring could jeopardise child-parent relationships.

The other child participants who were of the same view as Neymar was Christiano. **Chapter 5** discussed Christiano’s mother’s concern about the negative content of the Internet, which was why she and her husband’s Internet parenting styles were more inclined toward ‘monitoring’. The below excerpt from Christiano’s mother reaffirms that there was an element of monitoring in Christiano’s online activities.

*Well he (Christiano) doesn't use the Internet very much without us being there. So we would be there with him most of the time. (Christiano's mother, Interview, 26 Sept 2014).*

She added that even when she allowed Christiano to choose the websites that he would like to see, she or Christiano’s father had to approve them. I further asked Christiano’s mother whether her son was aware of this practice and had ever complained. She replied; ‘*Not that*

he has told me. It's just always been like that', suggesting that she assumes that this practice has been accepted by her son. However, this was not in fact the case, as is evident in the conversation below:

*Me: What about you Christiano, if you have Facebook or Twitter, do you want to add your parents as your friends?*

*Christiano: Yes, but it is really annoying after a while. I don't think it is a good idea having that, cause they know what you're up to.*

*Me: I see. So, you don't really want your parents to know all your activities on the Internet?*

*Christiano: (Nodded).*

*(Focus Group P7A, 1 Sept 2014).*

Christiano nodded his head when I asked him whether he would prefer his parents not to know about his online activities, and additionally mentioned having his parents as one of his SNSs friends as 'annoying', suggesting an upset feeling when his parents know about his activities on the Internet. Similar feeling was expressed by Neymar earlier. Christiano's disappointment was further evidenced during the focus group discussion, where in one of the activities the children were asked to list who they thought should not know about their online activities. Whilst most of the participants mentioned 'strangers', Christiano was alone in mentioning his mother:

*I put (write down) my mother, because my mother always freaks out, but my dad is alright, because he understands me a little (Focus Group P7A, 1 Sept 2014).*

Christiano displayed disappointment when he told the group that he thought his mother should not know what he was doing on the Internet. The way he expressed his frustration about how his mother regulates his online activities seems to suggest that she has breached the information norms that Christiano has about his engagement in the online environment. This is contrary to Spy Guy's view about his mother's act of monitoring, which seems normal to him. Christiano's parents' firm way of regulating his online activities could be an act of love in an effort to protect him from being exposed to unsuitable or disruptive images, as discussed in the **Chapter 5**. As discussed in **Chapter 3**, the act of regulating children's online activities could be viewed as a form of oppression, which, according to boyd (2014), Mathiesen (2013), Nolan and colleagues (2010), and Rooney (2010), may limit children's ability to make

independent choices and thus undermine their autonomy. Discussion in **Chapter 2** suggested that autonomy is needed in order to increase an individual's overall wellbeing (Haworth, 1984). One of the main concerns here relates to Christiano's ability to develop the skills for critical thinking, which is what autonomy is all about (Howe and Strauss, 2007). There is further discussion of the relationship between Christiano's mother's views on privacy and her Internet parenting style in **Section 6.4** of this chapter.

Together, the above situations show what counts as a privacy for different people. For children like James Bond, Elsa, Spy Guy, Sarah, Fire Red, Ponny, Becky, Bob and Football the act of sharing their information and being monitored by their parents is acceptable, while this is not the case for Neymar, Christiano, Aza, Wonderwomen, Goldie Lock and Derp Guy. Having discussed children's views on privacy violation with regards to parental monitoring on the Internet, the next discussion will focus on children's privacy relationship with the other 'actors' of the Internet.

### **6.3.2 Children's privacy violations in the context of the other 'actors' of the Internet**

This subsection will discuss children's views on the privacy violation with regards to the other 'actors' of the Internet, i.e. the online strangers and the online service providers. Overall, two major findings were obtained in relation to this question, as discussed below.

As discussed in **Chapter 5**, the issue related to 'online strangers' was evident in the data, suggesting that participants are of the view that the Internet is an unsafe place. Expanding upon this, **Section 6.2** above discussed the children's conclusion that the privacy in the online environment is difficult to achieve, compared to the offline environment. Similarly, the first main finding with regard to privacy and online service providers is related to the presence of online strangers. Almost all of the children in this study associated the need to set the privacy controls to 'private' with the need not to be contacted or seen by strangers. This is evidenced in conversations with Spy Guy and Goldie Lock:

*Me: Do you know why they [online service provider] create privacy settings?*

*Spy Guy: So strangers don't talk to you and you can't get bullied online*

*Goldie Lock: Yeah, just like random people can't see your stuff*

(Focus Group P6A, P7B)

In the excerpt above Spy Guy was off the view that the presence of 'strangers' could lead to the children being bullied. Being bullied by 'strangers' was among the view raised by a small number of child participants in this study, for example Anna, Becca and Bob; while the most common views is related to the second finding, which is related to children's high expectations that the online service provider would not disclose their information to strangers. The other evidence to support the notion that the majority of child participants have high expectations of online service providers can be seen in terms of their confidence in the privacy settings provided by certain SNSs. Recall that in **Chapter 5**, I discussed the children's preferences regarding Instagram compared to Facebook. Apart from the peer influence and the main features that Instagram has, the other reason is related to the perception that Instagram possesses better privacy control settings than Facebook. This view is expressed by Kpop and Becky:

*Me: Why Instagram, not other accounts like Facebook or Twitter?*

*Kpop: Because on Instagram you can make it private, other people cannot see it. Like Facebook, other people can still see it even if you set it to private.*

*Becky: On my Instagram account, I set it to private, you can only see my username. I think that's really good. If you have a private page, nobody can see what you have unless they send a friendship request. On my Instagram, I don't use my full name.*

(Focus Group P7B, P7A)

The excerpt from Kpop was selected as it makes a comparison between Instagram and Facebook's privacy controls, while Becky's excerpt indicates how Instagram's privacy controls work. Note that the comments by both participants imply their confidence and trust in Instagram in only allowing their 'approved friends' to view what they share on that platform. In fact, Becky and Kpop were not the only participants who held that view. More than three-quarters of the child participants in this study had great confidence in the privacy controls provided by Instagram. This finding contrasts with those by Lobe (2014) and boyd and Marwick

(2011), wherein the children were not convinced that privacy settings (particularly on Facebook) could really control the content of information. Furthermore, the high confidence participants in this study displayed is something that should be of concern, as a study by Li and colleagues (2015) revealed that the privacy settings that SNSs (in this case Facebook, Google+, and Twitter) have may not be guaranteed as most SNSs users expect. As such, children's understanding that merely depending on the SNSs' privacy settings does not guarantee to protect their privacy in the online environment is deemed to be beneficial for them. In light with this, the excerpts below were selected as they present three different viewpoints with regards to the reliability of the SNSs privacy settings:

*Me: Do you think Facebook or Instagram will change or reset our privacy settings [to 'public'] without telling us?*

*Popcorn: I don't know, but when you set up it will ask you to be private, but you can always change it if you do not want to be private anymore. But I don't think anyone [service provider] could change it. I'm not sure.*

*Minion: I'm not too sure as well because I don't know if they suddenly decided that. I don't think that would be good because that is not what people want.*

*Batman: Yea, because Facebook is on the Internet and they could go on and change it*

*(Focus Group P7B, 5 Sept 2014)*

In the excerpt above, the children were asked whether they thought Facebook, or Instagram online service provider, would be able to change or reset someone's privacy setting to 'public' without telling the user. Popcorn becomes less sure that the online service providers are not able to change privacy settings. Minion, on the other hand, neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement; however, she was of the opinion that the act of automatically changing or resetting the privacy settings to 'public' without informing users was not what users expected. Minion's view signifies the expectation that the majority of child participants had towards the online service providers regarding consistency of the privacy settings. In sum, the data showed about some of child participants' uncertainty about the reliability of the SNSs privacy settings, suggesting limited knowledge that they have with regards to how their privacy could be violated by the online service provider. Batman, however has a different view from Popcorn and Minion. As explicitly mentioned, Batman was of the view that Facebook could change the privacy settings without notifying users. This is consistent with his view as discussed in **Section 6.2.2**,



where he raised concerns about the difficulties of obtaining privacy online due to the complexities of SNSs privacy settings.

Batman's realisation that online service provider could change privacy settings without their consent raised an interesting question. Despite his acknowledgment about the difficulties in obtaining privacy in online environment as well as his realisation that Facebook could change the privacy settings without notifying users, based on my conversation with him showed that he is an active Facebook user, where he liked to upload photo and play games on Facebook. Batman's situation describes the type of privacy paradox where there is a realisation of the existence of the possibility but an expectation that this possibility will not manifest itself.

Together, this section has discussed at what point children think their online privacy has been violated. For the majority of participants, it is deemed acceptable for their online activities to be supervised, or in some cases closely monitored, by their parents, in the name of 'protection', despite the need to sacrifice the measure of privacy. However, there were some child participants who were against this, and who viewed their parents' monitoring as a breach of privacy. Other than children's privacy relationship with their parents, the context in which privacy is an issue is between children and the other 'actors' of the Internet. In this study, the children had high expectations of the online service provider to protect their privacy when they had set their privacy setting as such.

## 6.4 The meaning of privacy to parents

This section discusses and subsequently addresses the second research question (RQ2) of this study: What are parents' views of online privacy? Do their views of privacy influence how they deal with their children's privacy? To give a clearer picture between the link of parents' views of privacy and their attitudes toward the Internet parental mediation strategy that they used, this discussion will be divided into two subsections. The first two subsections are based on the types of Internet mediation strategies used, and the third subsection discusses findings related to the differences in parenting approaches in both of the offline and online environments.

### 6.4.1 Parents' with fully supportive Internet parental mediation strategies views

As mentioned in **Chapter 5**, there were limited number of parents participated in this study. Among eight parent participants, data showed that only Lion's father used an active mediation strategy when dealing with his son's online activities. For Lion's father, the notion of 'privacy-as-control' of information resonated, as he said:

*I think individuals should still have some control [over personal information]. When I say control it means that he/she can decide to share what I want to share, shouldn't be pushed to share too much. (Lion's father, Individual interview, 6 Aug 2014).*

Here hangs the suggestion that having the choice to make decisions about what to share and to whom is related to the notion of 'privacy-as-control' over personal information, which is in line with Westin (1967, p.7):

*"Privacy is the claims of individuals, groups or institutions to determine for themselves when, how, and to what extent information about them is communicated to others".*

Along these lines, the concept of autonomy resonates in the notion of 'privacy-as-control' over information. Recall the discussion in **Chapter 2** about Westin's (1967) four functions of privacy, one of them being personal autonomy. Lion's father's view on privacy about 'privacy-as-control' suggested that he realised that his son also has the right to control his own personal information, and the right to access his autonomy, i.e. to make his own decisions. Lion's father's stance on privacy has lead him to be supportive in his Internet parental mediation strategy.

Lion's father elaborated on his views on privacy, which are different from the other parents' participants:

*My view [about online privacy] is it is a trading off. It should be made clear before user want to use it. Say before you use Facebook, I think it should be made clear that you're trading off your personal information. Your consuming habit, for example, what you buy, what you're interested in because they use cookies to record in this thing. Then they can use that information. [...] I think this part should be made clear before we apply for any service. After certain user be aware of this trading off then I think it is a fair play. But if you [the online service provider] don't say in the first place, just say 'ooh it is very good service, all free' then after that been reveal that it is a trading off, then it is not fair for the user. But if they made clear in the first place, I don't think there is any problem. (Lion's father, Individual interview, 6 Aug 2014).*

Lion's father mentioned about privacy as a trade-off of user's personal information between the online service provider and the user that every user should aware. The way that Lion's father explained showed that he expected the online service provider to be transparent on what they would like to do with the data that has been collected. Adults' concern about personal information and autonomy compared to other two aspect of privacy (space and relationship) when discussing privacy was highlighted by Steijn and Vedder (2015), who contended that an individual's stance on privacy is related to how they perceived privacy vulnerabilities and also related to their social needs. They argue that adults associate the privacy harm were related to unwanted observation from banks, future employers, marketing companies to obtained their personal information.

#### **6.4.2 Parents' with less supportive Internet parental mediation strategies views**

The discussion in **Chapter 5** also showed that Richie's mother and Christiano's mother adopted a monitoring type of Internet parenting mediation style, which could be seen as invasive of children's online privacy. With regard to their views on privacy, Richie's mother also holds a similar opinion to Lion's father that privacy is about controlling personal information:

*Privacy is what one individually chooses. I mean that privacy for your life from others. I think everyone has different levels of privacy on different days. How happy you are to tell your friend, how your life is going. If you're happy you tell them everything. No privacy. The next day maybe you have a bad day, or you had an argument. Levels of privacy are different. Unless it is very a close person, you don't tell everyone everything that is going on. I think it depends on who, what, when, and how. (Richie's mother, Individual interview, 5 Dec 2014).*

This excerpt suggests that Richie's mother views privacy as something that is up to the individual to decide upon, disclosing or sharing whatever they choose with whomever they want at any given time. She added that levels of privacy are different from one individual to the next, change over time and adapt to different human relationships. In saying that '*I think it depends on who, what, when and how*', she suggests that, for her, privacy depends on the situation. However, despite her stance on privacy as having control over information, she might not realise that the act of monitoring and controlling her son's online activities is actually a violation of privacy. Her monitoring and controlling can be understood from the excerpt below:

*We have a computer in the living room. They will get an hour each on the computer, so that they can play games. They play Internet games quite a lot or watched on YouTube the games they played. They play games like Minecraft, then they watched people build things in Minecraft on YouTube. The computer stays in the living room, so that I can see what they are watching (Richie's mother, Individual Interview, 5 Dec 2014)*

Richie's mother clearly mentions that she monitors her children's Internet usage. Her stance on privacy, which relates to control over information, could be one of the reasons why she controls her children's online activities. Richie's mother does not seem to realise that the right to control Richie's personal information may be Richie's rather than hers. When further asked about her reason for placing the computer in the living room, she said:

*I mean you can't sit down telling your children you can do this, you can't do this [on the Internet]. You have to have such a massive list and that is unreasonable. The hardest and how easily things can shift. That is one of the reasons that I prefer to have the computer in the living room. Things like that, that you maybe didn't notice (Richie's mother, Individual Interview, 5 Dec 2014)*

Note that Richie's mother relates the reason for her specific type of monitoring to the difficulties in mediating her children's Internet use in practice. Specifically, she mentioned how easily things can shift, which relates to the four affordances highlighted by boyd (2014) – they create challenges in controlling information in the online environment. In summary, Richie's mother's realisation that it is difficult to control information has made her vigilant about her son's online engagement, leading her to choose protection over the privacy of her children.

Despite similarities between Lion's father's and Richie's mother's stance on privacy about 'privacy-as-control' and having autonomy, the difference lies in the fact that Lion's father expressed the belief that his son also has the right to privacy and to make decisions

autonomously about his online activities. This was not the case for Richie's mother, who had different views about her children's privacy, as exemplified below:

*I think the potential for danger is too big for it. I mean, I'd rather have my kids shouting at me than have them crying or have something happened to them. I'd rather they are annoyed at me for not having that privacy rather than have something happen (Richie's mother, Individual Interview, 5 Dec 2014)*

For Richie's mother, being vigilant and protecting her children in the online environment is more important rather than giving her sons privacy. As explained in **Chapter 5**, Richie's mother's decision to be 'over-protective' as she labelled herself, was influenced by her friends' experiences.

Another example of how parent's view on privacy influences their monitoring behaviour is evident in Christiano mother, as her situation explicitly shows how monitoring can affect children's privacy. In an effort to understand Christiano's mother's view of privacy, she was asked about her views on the statement made by the Google's Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Eric Schmit that 'Privacy is already dead' as well as a statement by Facebook's founder, Mark Zuckerberg, that 'Privacy is no longer a social-norm' (The Chartered Institute for IT, 2010; PCWorld, 2009):

*I think that [notion that privacy is dead] is rubbish. (Laugh) How could privacy be dead? You can't possibly share every single detail about your life with everybody I don't think everyone wants to. People always have a choice to share information or not... I don't think that there will be a time that people never care about privacy. I think it is a sort of innate human trait. There is something that you don't want other people to know about. I don't think there will be a time that people didn't consider something needed to be private and it was important for things to be private. (Christiano's mother, Individual interview, 26 Sept 2014)*

Christiano's mother's associated privacy with part of humans' innate nature, a sense that every person has. In addition, she explicitly mentioned that privacy is essential in one's life, and that each individual has to make a choice about whether or not to share the information they have, similar to Lion's father's and Richie's mother's views suggesting that she highly values her privacy.

Besides ensuring her son's online safety, which was already discussed in **Chapter 5**, Christiano's mother has another reason for her Internet parenting style:

*As they grow up you give them more control and responsibility. The measure is that different for everybody. Certainly with Christiano's age now, we would be testing the water with all types of responsibilities. The more he is able to do with that, the more responsibilities he will be given. So that would be definitely be one thing. The way that you use the Internet, you give him incremental responsibilities (Christiano's mother, Individual interview, 26 Sept 2014).*

Christiano's mother mentioned giving her son gradual responsibilities, which suggests she has a measure of expectation and trust towards her son. In this situation, it is clear that both of Christiano and his mother have differing expectations regarding Christiano's engagement on the Internet. Recall that in **Section 6.3** Christiano's mother mentioned that her son would normally use the Internet with their (the parent's) supervision. Yet Christiano expressed disappointment about his limitations, suggesting that he may feel trapped by his parent's requirements; indeed, it seems that both Christiano and his mother fail to communicate their expectations of each other regarding Internet usage. Christiano's situation is an example of how different norms and values about privacy can come into conflict.

The discussion so far has indicated that Lion's father, Richie's mother and Christiano's mother's stance on privacy relate to the ability to control information and having a choice about whether or not to share the information they have. A different view of privacy was expressed by Minion's father:

*Privacy to me is I don't want people to know about me, really or things you don't want to share. It's close to secret, but it is not very secret. (Minion father, Individual interview, 24 Sept 2014)*

Minion's father understands privacy as 'keeping secret' about himself. When asked whether his stance of privacy influenced his Internet parental mediation strategy, Minion's father explicitly acknowledged it did. This could also be seen where Minion's father seems to apply the restrictive mediation strategy to his children:

*My daughter has a Kindle and iPod. Me and my wife have a smartphone and computer. We have an iPad but they do not play it that much. There are very restricted and we know what they do and what they play. (Minion father, Individual interview, 24 Sept 2014)*

Minion's father clearly mentioned that he restricts his daughter's online usage. Recall in **Chapter 5** about Minion's father's negative view of media effects. It could be that his stance of privacy to 'keep secret' also influenced his negative views about the Internet.

In sum, this subsection has discussed the association between parents' view of privacy and the Internet mediation strategy they chose to use with their children. Indeed, parents' views of privacy did influence how they deal with their children's privacy. Despite similarities in parents' views of privacy, what remained different is how parents manifested their stance of privacy in terms of their Internet mediation strategy to their children. Parents' with less supportive Internet mediation strategies were of the view that giving protection to children is of the utmost important, and were thus willing to ignore that children are also entitled to rights of privacy. These two subsections have thus answered the second research question in terms of whether parents' views on privacy influence how they deal with their children's online privacy. The question that remains unanswered is whether the way parents deal with children's privacy differs between the two spheres of privacy, which will be discussed below.

#### **6.4.3 Parents' attitudes towards privacy in online and offline environment**

During interview session, parents were asked about their privacy practices with their children at home. Among those who showed awareness of their child's privacy expectations was Becca's mother:

*Becca makes her own privacy. She will go upstairs to her room. Last year she probably wouldn't have gone to her room as much, it would have been done here [living room]. Now, most of the time she comes back from school she would like to go to her room for a while. I think that is just getting straight, you know getting away from school and friends and just a bit of. So, I do try to give her that. She might not think I do, but I try and give her some space. (Becca's mother, Interview, 9 Oct 2014)*

Becca's mother acknowledged that she began to realise that Becca longed for more privacy when she in moved from Primary 5 to Primary 6, and that she tried to give Becca some physical space without Becca even realising it. I then asked Becca's mother what her stance on privacy was and whether it influenced her views about giving Becca's privacy:

*[Privacy is] You're allowed to have your own space, something that's yours. So, for the children, they've got to have, like Becca and her froggy (YouTube video) thing. It's nice for her to go away and not having me standing over [...] Everybody needs space. (Becca's mother, Interview, 9 Oct 2014)*

The above statement indicates that Becca's mother's understanding about her daughter's expectation for privacy was a result of her stance of the notion of privacy, that is, having one's own space.

The same view about children's expectations of more privacy as they grow older was echoed by Minion's father. He specifically mentioned that Minion tends to spend more time in her room compared to before. Note the use of the bedroom as a physical space for children to have privacy, as mentioned by Becca's mother and Minion's father, and also highlighted by almost all the children with regards to having privacy at home (**Section 6.2**). Similarly, I could see Spy Guy's mother's effort in giving her son his own physical privacy; based on my observations, Spy Guy had his own room. Not only did Spy Guy have his own physical space, but his bedroom was fully equipped with a games console and television, giving him access to several types of electronic devices in his bedroom. Recall that in the previous chapter I discussed Spy Guy's mother negative view about the media. As argued by Nikken and Schols (2015), parental views on media are not associated with the presence of devices in the child's room. They argue that parents' view on media is only relevant for the types of Internet parenting mediation strategies and the frequency of Internet use by children. However, this might not be true in the context of this study. Recall in previous subsection I discuss about Richie's mother who placed the computer in the living room so that she could monitor his children's online activities.

In this study overall, it could be seen that parents were more tolerant and understanding of their children's expectation of isolation when it came to the offline sphere of privacy. However, this was not the case when it came to the online environment; based on interviews with the parent participants, the act of surveillance or monitoring of children's online activities was significant. **Chapter 5** discussed Spy Guy's, Christiano's and Richie's mother's approach to their son's online activities, which suggested a monitoring element of parental strategy while Becca mother explicitly mentioned that she is restrictive about children's use of the Internet. In line with most other parents interviewed, Danny's mother acknowledged that she tends to take a bit of her son's privacy away when it comes to his online activities. She explained that she would like to know every now and then what her son does on the Internet. Minion's father was of a similar opinion. The only parent who explicitly mentioned that he does not monitor



his children, be it in the offline or online environment, was Lion's father. Recall that in **Chapter 5** Lion's father stressed that he wanted his children to explore and utilise the advantages the Internet has, as he believes it can benefit his children.

The evidence presented so far showed parent participants in this study have different approaches when it comes to these two different spheres of privacy. The general tolerance parents expressed towards their children's offline privacy could be due to their self-perceived ability to control the situation compared to when their child is online. Indeed, in offline contexts, they are able to see with whom their children communicate and socialise, compared to the online environment, which is effectively invisible to them and thus difficult to control. The thought that their children are still young and thus easily influenced by the negative effects of the Internet was expressed by with most of the parents in this study. This is connected to work by boyd and Hargittai (2013), who reveal that parents of young children are concerned that their children will potentially meet a 'stranger' who could harm them by exposing them to violent or pornographic content. A study by Nikken and Jansz (2014) reveals that parents tend to increase their restrictive mediation when their young child is engaged in social media activities. Parents of young children reported feeling less confident about their Internet mediation, especially when said children have an interest in the use of social media (Nikken and de Haan, 2015).

This section has answered the second research question for this study. The findings indicate there are differences between parents and children's definitions of privacy. Children associate online privacy with space, while the ability to control personal information is more prominent for parents, as demonstrated by Lion's father, Richie's mother and Christiano's mother, above. Children showed some awareness about privacy as controlling information, but their perceived privacy threat is only from online strangers, which is very limited. There were small numbers of child participants who acknowledged parents as their source of online privacy-threat. Parents, on the other hand, have a broader view about how personal information could be

used other than by online strangers, for example, by online service provider for marketing purposes.

The difference in views is expected. As argued by Steijn and Vedder (2015), it is related to the different social needs and desires between children and adults. Children's social goals are oriented more towards making new friends and creating an identity (boyd, 2014). This is the reason why children did not recognise the act of collecting personal information by online service providers as a threat to their privacy. Although there is a difference in the definition of privacy between children and parents, the underlying principle implied by both includes having control or having autonomy. Indeed, parents in this study recognise the importance of privacy: however as discussed in previous chapter, their worries and lack of confidence of their children's ability to navigate the Internet safely dominates their thinking, and thus they often choose to ignore their children's privacy.

## 6.5 Chapter conclusion

The current chapter has discussed the first two sets of research questions set for this study which are (1) *What are children's views of online privacy?* and (2) *What are parents' views of online privacy? Does their view on privacy influence how they deal with their children's privacy?* As can be seen in the first section of this chapter, there were various meanings of privacy mentioned by child participants within this study. Children in this study refer to privacy as: (1) being alone, and (2) 'Keeping things to yourself'. Further discussion and understanding of these three views resulted in the categorisation of three main privacy elements: (1) spatial elements, both physical and emotional space, as relate to as being related to 'being alone'; (2) people's presence, as relates to 'positive isolation'; and (3) control over information, as related to 'keeping things to yourself'. Child participants were also asked to differentiate between online and offline privacy, and terms like accessibility (number of people in the audience) and familiarity (perception of the existence of strangers) were highlighted in addition to the three existing elements of privacy. The results indicate that most of the child participants were of the opinion that privacy in the online environment is more difficult to achieve than in the offline environment. However, in terms of the management of privacy, it is clear that child participants hold divergent views. Child participants with the opinion that it is easier to obtain privacy online claimed that the use of structural strategies (such as privacy settings, passwords, and blocking people) could assist them in managing their audience. Conversely, child participants with the opinion that it is easier to manage privacy while offline justified this by expounding upon the complexities of the same Internet settings that the other group felt made them safe(r).

Using Nissenbaum's theory on privacy as contextual integrity, the second section of this chapter discussed children's views on the violation of privacy, with two prominent 'actors' in their engagement with the online environment. With regards to children's privacy relationship with their parents, although the act of monitoring is categorised as violating ones' privacy by most of scholars, most child participants in this study indicated that parental supervision or monitoring in the online environment is expected, and in turn they did not feel that the act was

a contextual breach of privacy. However, there were a small number of participants against that idea, who expected their online privacy to be respected. In terms of their privacy relationships with the online service providers, the child participants indicated that 'being seen' by strangers was a breach of the information norm. However, not being seen by others in the online environment is challenging due to the multi-factor capabilities of the Internet, namely persistency, replicability, scalability, and also searchability.

Finally, the last section of this chapter discussed parents' views on children's privacy and how their parents' own views influenced their children's privacy. The results indicate that parents are more tolerant with their children's privacy offline compared to when on the Internet. In light of such strong views regarding the privacy rights, there are tensions in parents' monitoring their children's online activities. In all cases, parent participants expressed worries about their children's engagement with the Internet, leading some to adopt the strategy of monitoring in an effort to ensure their children safety.

Privacy matters to children and they understand privacy in many different ways, yet privacy remains difficult to grasp, especially when it comes to their engagement with the online environment. Possibilities should be considered regarding ways to encourage parents to be more open and to consider giving 'more space' to children in terms of their online privacy, in order to support children's developmental of autonomy. I draw on authors such as Waldman (2014) and Wieseemann (2016) that fostering trust between children and their parents could address this issue, as privacy, trust and autonomy are closely interlinked. We will see the benefits of trust and its relationship with privacy in the next chapter (**Chapter 7**).

## Chapter 7: Trust and its Relationship with Children's Privacy

### 7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we have seen how children and parents in this study viewed privacy both from online and offline perspectives. We have also seen and discussed the differences in how parents in this study deal with children's privacy in both of the online and offline environments. It can be seen that controls were imposed by most of the parents in this study particularly when it comes to their child's involvement in the online environment. As discussed in **Chapter 3**, the act of monitoring or surveillance by parents is viewed by many scholars to be a breach of privacy (Mathiesen, 2013; Nolan et al, 2010; Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat, 2010; Rooney, 2010). Establishing trust between children and parents is one possible way to overcome these privacy issues. Mayer and colleagues (1995) argue that trust involves a positive 'expectation' that the trustee (child) will perform a particular action that is important to the trustor (parent), irrespective of the trustor's ability to control or monitor the trustee. Consequently, control or monitoring is not necessary when trust is in place.

Trust is not only beneficial in overcoming the privacy issue between parents and children, but also in resolving the privacy issue of children's engagement on the Internet. Children's participation on the Internet involves communication with other actors on the Internet, such as siblings, friends, strangers, as well as the providers of online platforms including social networking sites (hereafter SNS) and games. As discussed in **Chapter 2**, the issue of privacy in the online environment is complicated by the existence of the specific features or 'affordances' in the context in the Internet - namely persistence, replicability, scalability, and searchability - which pose challenges for individuals in managing their personal information. Thus, like the privacy issue in parent-child relationships, trust is seen as one way to reduce the privacy complication with regards to children's communication with the other 'actors' that may exist while they engage on the Internet. Discussing the connection between trust and

privacy will be the focus of this chapter, with particular reference to the following: What are children's expectation towards the other 'actors' on the Internet? What kind of dependency is there between the different actors on the Internet? How is a breach of trust related to the breach of contextual integrity? The aim for this chapter is to explore the meaning of trust in these contexts.

The chapter is organised as follows: **Section 7.2** will first give a general overview of the concept of trust - its characteristics and why it is important. Following this, I will highlight the association between privacy and trust, and the notion of privacy-as-trust. This is followed by a review of the literature on children's interpersonal trust and children's trust of technology. **Section 7.3** explores the trust and privacy relationship between children and other users of online platforms (including parents, siblings, peers, and strangers). **Section 7.4** offers a discussion on the trust and privacy relationship between children and the providers of online platforms (including SNS and games). **Section 7.5** discusses the trust and privacy relationship between children and the online strangers followed by the discussion on children's trust and privacy relationship with online service providers in **Section 7.6**. **Section 7.7** focuses on answering the third research question (RQ3): What are the benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parenting mediation strategies for children's online privacy? **Section 7.8** concludes.

## 7.2 Trust and its relation to privacy

The aim of this section is to discuss the meaning of trust, and subsequently explain the association between trust and privacy.

The concept of trust is complex, multi-faceted, and abstract, which has led to the lack of a universally-accepted scholarly definition of trust (Lewis and Weigert, 1985; Rousseau et al, 1998; Wang and Emurian, 2005; O'Neill, 2012). However, despite the lack of a universal definition of trust, Rousseau and colleagues (1998) equate trust to the 'expectations and willingness to be vulnerable' (p.394). Rotenberg and colleagues (2010, p11) posit that trust 'includes a defined set of beliefs (expectations) about persons – reliability, emotion, and honesty – which comprises (at the trusting end of the continuum) positive expectations of their behaviour'. They add that trust involves a willingness to be vulnerable by the trustor, meaning that trust involves risk and uncertainty (Rotenberg, 2010). Here, the trustor is taking a risk and must rely on the trustee to fulfil his/her expectations. According to Rousseau and colleagues (1998), risk and dependence are fundamental elements that must exist for trust to occur. They argue that trust would not be necessary if any action could be performed both without risk and with absolute certainty. As trust involves uncertainty, the trustor is vulnerable to suffering loss if the trust is betrayed intentionally or if the trustee is unable to fulfil the expectation of the trustor unintentionally (Kelton et al, 2008).

In view of all that has been mentioned by Rousseau and colleagues (1998) and Rotenberg and colleagues (2010) above, the term 'expectation' is a key component in discussing trust. Recall that 'expectation' was considered in relation to privacy in **Chapter 2**, and associated with Nissenbaum's Contextual Integrity (hereafter CI), which stresses privacy as an expectation. She argues that privacy should be assessed in context, stressing adherence to the expected norms of information flow specific to that context (Nissenbaum, 2010). Therefore, breaching those norms constitutes a violation of privacy or, in other words, a breach of expectation. Here, the breach of expectation relates to the notion of distrust, or the failure of the trustor to execute the expectation of a trustee.

Waldman (2014) asserts that 'spheres of privacy mirror spheres of trust' in the sense that the feeling of privacy being invaded is akin to the act of breaching trust. According to Waldman, trust exists whenever there is a social interaction, and in normal circumstances a social interaction involves exchanging personal information. Privacy is involved in these kinds of situations, as privacy concerns exist wherever personal information is used without the knowledge or consent of the owner, suggesting that privacy and trust are closely interlinked. Not only in social interaction, privacy and trust are also related to regulatory, consumer and political aspects (Coles-Kemp, 2009). Technological advances have led to staggering amounts of information being stored and shared by various parties including, for example, governments departments, financial institutions, law enforcers, to name a few – in which not every person would have control over their data. This sharing and storing of information complicate the consent process in a sense that it is difficult to determine who 'owns' the data, thus facilitating the breach of privacy and potentially reducing societal trust (Elahi, 2009).

Waldman also emphasizes that trust not only exists between individuals who know each other, but also between strangers. Such a concept is particularly relevant to this study as children meet strangers online, especially when they are playing interactive games, as acknowledged by participants during the interviews. According to Waldman, privacy-as-trust protects and encourages social interaction not only with those who are close to us, but also with strangers, who we will meet in our daily interactions, be they offline or online. Children may reveal some personal information to strangers while using social networking or playing Xbox, Playstation, or Wii online, with the expectation that the other party will not misuse the information given.

Privacy and trust facilitate each other. Studies by scholars indicate that trust influences privacy, in the sense that a trustor with a high level of trust will be more comfortable in sharing or disclosing more personal information to the trustee than a trustor with a low level of trust (Frye and Dornisch, 2010; Mesch 2012; Taddei and Contena, 2013). Disclosing



personal information signifies that trustors may reduce their privacy concerns, trusting that the trustee will not disclose the information to others, otherwise 'violating a principle of transmission [...] [and] undermin[ing] the bonds of trust' (Nissenbaum, 2010, p. 240). Reciprocally, the trustor's perceived respect of his or her privacy and have more trust in the trustee.

Dwyer and colleagues (2007) argue that trust is a precondition for self-disclosure as it 'reduces perceived risks involved in revealing private information' (p.3). In addition, Locke (2010) notes that people are normally willing to share their personal information if they are confident that it cannot hurt them, and one way to do this is through mutual information sharing or other privacy strategies like anonymity and pseudonymity.

### **7.3 Scope of trust in this study**

This study focuses on the trust between children and the main 'actors' or users of the Internet in the context of online privacy. It includes trust between:

- a) Children and their parents, and vice versa;
- b) Children and strangers they meet online;
- c) Children and the providers of the online platform (SNS or online games).

The concept of trust in this study refers to the expectations children have towards their parents, the providers of the online platforms, and online strangers to maintain their privacy online and offline; this is the trust expectations that children have toward these 'actors' with regards to personal information that has been shared. With regards to this, are children aware of the possibility that their data could be used by these 'actors' in ways other than expected?

The other area of trust that will be discussed in this chapter is the trust that the parents have in their children to allow them to access their child's online information and the extent to which their level of trust informs their parental mediation strategies. This is further discussed below.

#### **7.3.1 Trust between children and parents**

This subsection discusses the significance of trust in children-parent relationships in the context of children's online engagement. To distinguish clearly between children-parent trust relationships, this discussion is divided into two parts. The first section is about parents trusting their children, and how the level of trust parents have for their children relates to the Internet parental strategy parents used. The second section is related to children trusting their parents and the benefits they may obtain from such a trusting relationship.

##### **(a) Parents' trust of children**

This section answers the following question: Why is it important for parents to trust their children? Parents trust greatly benefits their children, as well the parents themselves; many

scholars argue that trust plays an important role in child-parent relationships, as discussed below (Kerr et al, 1999; Nishikawa and Stolle, 2011; Nolan et al, 2011; Demant and Ravn, 2013; Newell et al, 2015).

One significant benefit of parents trusting their children is related to the act of two-way information sharing between children and their parents. As discussed in the previous section, a trustor, in this case children with high levels of trust in their trustee (a parent) tends to be more comfortable with voluntarily sharing more about their online activities. For example, these children are more likely to share who their online friends are, what their interests are or what bothers them when they are online. Children's willingness to share their online activities suggests that they trust their parents' judgement, and they could defer to their parents if they encountered problems while online (Haddon, 2015).

Although one's willingness to share or disclose personal information is not an act of maintaining privacy, as there is still the possibility that the trustee might disclose that information to others. According to Nissenbaum's (2010) CI, this privacy remains inviolate if it does not breach the contextual integrity of flow of information. In the context of children's online engagement and Nissenbaum's CI, there is no breach of children's privacy if parents do not use the information disclosed by their children for anything other than what their child expected.

As argued by Margaret and Stout (2001) and Hupchey and colleagues (2001), trust is a learned behaviour rather than an inherent personality trait. As such, parents have an important responsibility to act as role models for their children, so that they may learn and develop the trustworthiness characteristic (Lahno, 2001; Nolan et al, 2011). Trustworthiness as a characteristic refers to positive attributes that include 'competence, positive intentions, ethics and predictability', as they exist in the trustee (Kelton et al, 2008, p.367). These elements are important in building the confidence of the trustor towards the trustee. The trustee is considered to be trustworthy if he/she possesses the expertise, skills, knowledge and experience to carry out the expectations of the trustor (Kelton et al, 2008). In the context of children's engagement on the Internet, children's ability to show that they have the skills

and capacity to navigate the Internet safely should increase their parents' trust, which should influence parents' Internet mediation strategies (Sorbring and Lundin, 2012). Here, skills for safely maneuvering around the Internet could refer to children's: (1) Internet safety skills, for example blocking unwanted messages from strangers, not involving themselves in any unsuitable or harmful content, or avoiding bullying (Sonck et al, 2011); (2) informational skills, for example knowing how to find information regarding how to use the Internet safely and how to assess and verify information presented to them online (Sonck et al, 2011); (3) emotional skills, for example having the emotional capacity to cope if they experience online bullying; and (4) trusting skills, or the skill of children establishing when they can and cannot trust someone they meet online (Rooney, 2010). Developing all or some of these skills is where parents' trust and guidance is important. Children can develop the expertise, skill and knowledge base regarding how to use the Internet sensibly with trust, support, and guidance from their parents (Rooney, 2010; Duerager and Livingstone, 2012).

#### **(b) Children's trust of their parent(s)**

As mentioned earlier, trust in child-parent relationships brings great benefits to children. The first benefit is related to the development of children's autonomy. Autonomy and trust are interrelated concepts, which are dependent upon each other, one constantly shaping the other. However, in definitional terms they do differ substantially (Wiesemann, 2016). Trust involves elements that are "intuitive, non-cognitive and, sometimes, even irrational" (Wiesemann, 2016, p.107), while autonomy implies components of critical reflection. Yet, trust and autonomy are interrelated; both of them are needed to deal with unexpected situations. For example, the trust that children have of their parents encourages them to share and disclose their online activities voluntarily. Two-way information sharing between children and parents helps identify potential and also unexpected online issues, and necessary advice and safety precautions can be taught to children. Therefore, children will potentially be able to manage their online activities in an increasingly autonomous way. These children will be able to make wise decisions about their online engagement: what, how, to whom and when information should be shared.

The second benefit for children who could obtain trust from their parents is that children will be able to gain more experience in their life. In other word, parental trust will allow for more exploration by children. This also relates to the autonomy that parents give to their children. For example, in the context of online engagement, children will benefit from having more online experiences based on the guidance and skills passed on from their parents.

Overall, this subsection discussed how trust between parents and children helps children's long-term psychological well-being, for example through the development of autonomy and trust, improving communication between children and parents, and through help in maintaining children's privacy (Kerr and Stattin, 2000; Nolan et al, 2009; Marx and Steeves, 2010; Rooney, 2010; Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat (2010)). This subsection also discussed the relationship of trust, privacy and autonomy.

### **7.3.2 Trust on the Internet**

Luhman (1988) argues that the modern world is a place of 'unmanageable complexity' due to 'the increasing diversification and particularisation of familiarities and unfamiliarities' (p.105). These unfamiliarities lead to risk-taking situations and, as Luhman further argues, 'risk-taking will as far as others are involved, require trust' (p.105). These 'unfamiliarities' and the risky environment on the Internet due to include the 'unfamiliar person' or stranger and the need to deal with unknown online service providers. The sharing of information, including personal information, has become the norm in the modern world, creating a need for trust in the online environment (McKnight, 2005; Kelton et al, 2008; Lankton et al, 2011). Therefore, in addition to the importance of trust in interpersonal relationships, the other important area in children's engagement on the Internet is related to the trust in the Internet itself, or what is referred to as the trust in technology (McKnight, 2005). Whilst interpersonal trust refers to expectations one human has of another, trust in technology refers to expectations humans have of technology. McKnight (2005) argues that there are three corresponding technology characteristics that normally related to this 'trust in technology', namely functionality,

reliability, and helpfulness: humans expect that technology will have certain functions or features to help them accomplish their task(s); reliability is the expectation that the technology will consistently work properly or in a flawless manner; finally, humans expect that technology will provide adequate and responsive help, for example privacy settings which are set to private by default or usable tools to manage privacy setting easily.

There are differences between the trustor and trustee positions, and between the interpersonal trusting relationship and the human-to-technology trust relationship. In interpersonal trust relationships, humans hold both the trustor and trustee positions, while in the human-to-technology trust relationship, humans will typically be the trustor, and the providers of the platform will hold the position of trustee (Wang and Emurian, 2005). However, Lankton and McKnight (2011) raise the question of 'What does it mean to trust Facebook?' - they argue that the social networking sites represents a technology in which there is a blurred distinction between human and technology characteristics. The question revolves around whether Facebook should be trusted as a technology (i.e. a website) or as a person ('quasi-person'). Based on their study, they concluded that Facebook demonstrates both types of trust relationships, that is, interpersonal trust relationships as well as also technology trust relationships. In this situation, interpersonal trust relationships refer to Facebook users' trust in the person they are interacting with on Facebook, for example their family members, friends, or even strangers, while trust in technology refers to the trust in Facebook as the online service provider. Therefore, in the case of children's participation on social networking sites, children will be in the trustor and the trustee position for their parents, family members, friends, strangers they meet online and online or game service provider.

Overall, this section has provided conceptual ideas of trust, which will be useful in discussing the findings in the following sections of this chapter. One of the questions that will be answered in this chapter is how does the concept of trust as the expectation and willingness to be vulnerable, as posited by Rousseau and colleagues (1998), affect children's trust

relationships with the 'actors' above? Additionally, with regard to the argument made in **Section 7.2.1**, that trust and privacy facilitate each other, this chapter will show how trusting the 'actors' specified above reduces children's privacy concerns. The next section will discuss the relationships of trust and privacy between children and their parents.

## 7.4 The relationships of trust and privacy between children and parents in the online environment

This section examines the trust and privacy in relationships in parent-children relationships.

### 7.4.1 Children's view on trust and privacy relationships with parents

The concept of trust is learnt in childhood (Alat, 2013; Dohmen et al, 2012), as the family has been recognised as the primary site in which children learn and develop trust (Misztal, 1996). The aim of this subsection is to see how child participants of this study view the relationships of privacy and trust with their parents in the context of children's participation on the Internet.

#### (a) Trust as an expectation

As discussed in **Chapter 5**, the result of the focus group discussion on the vignette about Emily indicated that the majority of child participants were of the view that the people they are close to in their lives are the individuals that they referred to mostly when it came to their activities on the Internet. Similar answers were given by Ellie, Aza, and Sarah (P7B) when they were asked about who they thought should know about their activities online:

*Me: Ok, who do you think should know what you're doing on the Internet?*  
*Ellie: Parents and people in the family.*  
*Aza: Your parents.*  
*Sarah: Friends and family.*  
*Me: How do you think they know?*  
*Sarah: Cause I let them. They are free to look at whatever I wrote on the Internet*  
*Me: Are you ok with your parents knowing what you do?*  
*Sarah: Yes.*

*(Focus Group, P7B, 1<sup>st</sup> Sept 2014)*

The above excerpt shows that children-parent trust exists based on children's willingness to let their parents know what they do on the Internet. For example, Sarah mentioned that she allowed her parents freedom to see whatever she wrote on the Internet, and that she does not mind that her parents know about her online activities. In my individual interview with

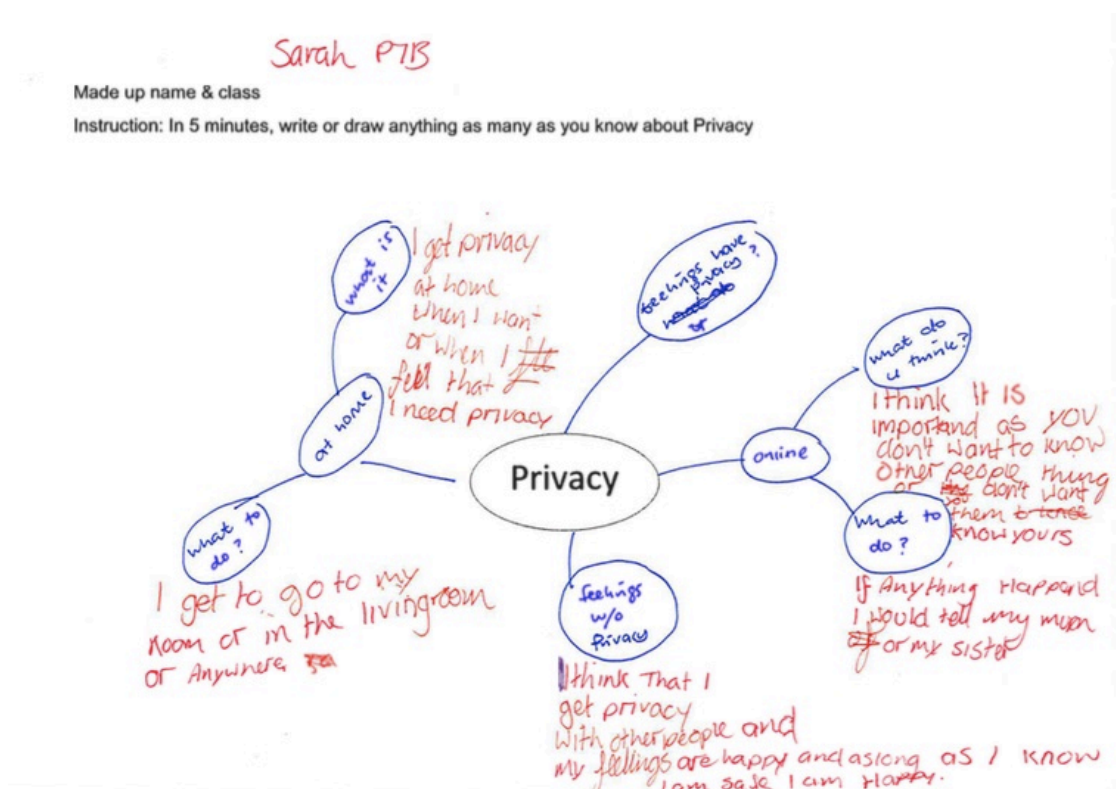


Sarah (P7), I was informed that she also had a Facebook account, and that her mother is one of her 'friends'. According to Sarah:

*Well my mother has Facebook, and she is friends with me. I wouldn't lie because she would know. It's good to have somebody who I trust on it [Facebook]. (Focus Group P7B, 1 Sept 2014).*

Sarah's excerpt intrigued me as she explicitly mentioned that having her mother as her friend on Facebook was a good thing, and she also mentioned trust. Her phrase 'it's good to have somebody who I trust on it' suggests Sarah has an expectation toward her mother for help should she face any problems on the Internet. This was also evident in the mind map she drew (Figure 7.1):

**Figure 7.1: Privacy mind map by Sarah (P7B)**



In one of the questions posed to Sarah, she was asked about the actions she would take should she face any difficulties or issues while navigating the Internet. As depicted in the mind map (Figure 1) above, Sarah concluded that she would tell her mother or her sister should anything happen. This suggests a reliance and expectation on her mother and sister – related to her online activities – to help with any potential issue that might arise. This

reflects the idea that trust is about 'expectations and [a] willingness to be vulnerable' (Rousseau et al, 1998: p.394), as discussed in the **Section 7.2.1**. Sarah exposed herself to the risk of her mother knowing of her online activities by adding her on Facebook. In my interview with Sarah, she also explicitly mentioned that she has shared her password with her mother. This, however, raised an interesting question as to whether Sarah felt that her privacy had been breached by having her mother look and have access to her information. Here, Nissenbaum's Contextual Integrity (CI) theory is used to assess whether Sarah's privacy had been breached. The theory of Contextual Integrity emphasises that privacy should be assessed contextually, and stressing adherence to the expected norms of information flow specific to that context; failing this constitutes a violation of privacy (Nissenbaum, 2010). The way in which Sarah explained her willingness to allow her mother access to her Facebook account suggests that Sarah views her privacy, in the context of her engagement on Facebook, as not being violated. Sarah also mentioned her positive feelings; Selbst (2013, p.650) notes that 'people's indignation, anxiety, fear, anger, over a privacy violation are evidence that an informational norm has been breached'. Thus, by indicating that she is 'happy' with her current Facebook situation, Sarah suggested an absence of privacy violation by sharing her information with her mother and other people she trusts.

As discussed in **Section 7.3** earlier, one of the significant benefit in parent-child trusting relationship is related to children's act of voluntarily sharing and disclosing information about their online activities (Newell et al, 2015; Sorbring and Lundin, 2012; Smetana, 2010). These authors further argue that children's willingness to disclose information is important, as it is a primary source of parents' knowledge of their child's behaviour. Consequently, this helps parents protect their children, while at the same time giving their children opportunities to develop autonomy (the process of becoming a self-governing person) with parents not exerting too much control (Smetana, 2010). As discussed in **Chapter 2**, giving children autonomy while they engage on the Internet is important to encourage them to develop the intrinsic motivation to develop critical thinking skills and take ownership of their life skills and learning (Howe and Strauss, 2007). This notion was echoed when Sarah explained that her

mother was willing to accept her attempt to create her own Instagram account when she was nine years old:

*My mother knew when I tried it [creating Instagram account] the first time and then I thought 'it is not the right time to have it' [she was 9 at that time] and I deleted it. I told her after a couple of days and she said that's fine, as long as I don't do a silly thing. (Sarah, Individual Interview, 30<sup>th</sup> Oct 2014).*

This excerpt suggests that Sarah exerted her own autonomy by creating her own Instagram account without telling her mother and, as argued by Kamii (1984), 'autonomy enables children to make decision for themselves' (p.411). Kamii (1984) further explains that 'autonomy means taking relevant factors into account in determining the best course of action for all concerned' (p.411), which relates to Sarah's decision to delete the account, as she realised that she was too young at the time to have her own social networking account.

On the whole, Sarah's situation represents the typical views and expectations that child participants have toward their parents, in the sense that they do not mind their parents knowing about their online activities. The children allow their parents to view their online information with the expectation that their parents will be able to help them should they face any problems online. Sarah's situation was selected for discussion as it provides the most detailed explanation about the trust relationships within the data. On the other side of the trust spectrum is Batman. While Sarah did not mind having her mother and sister know about her online activities, Batman expressed the opposite view. During the focus groups, children were asked whether parents should know everything about their children's online activities. This question was asked in an effort to understand children's views regarding privacy violations in the event that their parents know about their online activities. This was Batman's response:

*Your parents shouldn't know everything you do [on the Internet]. They need to give you a little bit of space. (Batman, Focus Group, 05 Sept 2014).*

Batman was among a small number of children in this study who disagreed with having parents be 'nosy' about their children's online activities. Batman's statement that '*They need to give you a little bit of space*' suggests that he has the expectation that every parent should respect their child's privacy to a certain extent. Important to this discussion is how Batman

defined privacy:

*Privacy is like to keeping something to yourself and making sure no one knows what it is. (Batman, Focus Group, 05 Sept 2014).*

Privacy, according to Batman, is related to the expectation that others not know certain information about him. Batman's privacy expectation extended not only to strangers, but also to his parents, which is evident in his previous statement. In order to understand further how his parents deal with his online activities, I asked Batman to describe his parents' Internet parenting style:

*She [Batman's mother] is quite bossy about what I go on [...] She wouldn't let me have Facebook until I was 8 or 9 because she didn't trust me on it until I started playing games on my sister's account. She was really bossy when I had Twitter. (Batman, Individual Interview, 3 Nov 2014).*

Based on the above excerpt, Batman was of the view that his mother did not trust him to have his own Facebook account. Whilst the above excerpt was selected as it shows Batman's perception that his mother does not trust him, the excerpt below indicates how trust is symmetrical in Batman's situation. Batman was asked whether he thinks that his mother checked his Facebook:

*It is quite annoying when sometimes I go to my sister's account when I can't find my tablet, then from there I can see I'm online [indicating that his mother is using his account]. (Batman, Individual Interview, 3 Nov 2014).*

Based on the above excerpt, Batman suspected that his mother used his Facebook account, as he noticed that his account was 'online' while he was on his sister's account. Batman mentioned that he was sometimes annoyed with his mother's actions. Note that the feeling of privacy invasion is akin to the act of breaching trust – this notion can be applied to Batman's situation, as what Batman's mother did to him violated his stance on privacy, and because of this he was annoyed with his mother. Batman's situation also indicates that trust was symmetrical, as Batman indicated both that he did not have his mother's trust that he did not trust his mother.

Overall, Sarah's and Batman's experiences shows two different types of trust and privacy relationships between children and their parents in this study. The trust given to Sarah by her mother made her willing to share her online activities and thus engendered trust in return. As a consequence, she did not feel that her mother looking at her personal

information was a violation of her privacy. However, in Batman's case, the distrust that he experienced from his mother is reflected in his lack of trust in her. Sarah's views were the most common across the child participants, while Batman's viewpoint was evident in a minority.

#### 7.4.2 Parents' view on trust and privacy relationships with children

Previous subsection illustrates children's disparate expectations of trust and privacy in the context of the Internet. In the following discussion, focus will be given to parents' perspectives. Below is the response from Danny's mother when she was asked how much she trusted her son on the Internet:

*I trust him quite a lot. I have another two small kids, so I couldn't sit beside him 24 - 7. So I trust him enough to come to me if there is a problem. I trust enough that what he learned at school is age appropriate, he is learning what I can't teach him, cause I'm not 10 anymore and I haven't been wee for a while. So I hope that he can teach me as well. But I trust him enough so that our relationship is good enough. (Danny's mother, Interview, 22 Sept 2014)*

Danny's mother's situation relates to Luhman's (1979) concept of trust, in that trust can be used when we do not have knowledge about what will happen and, at the same time, when we are unable to deal with all possible outcomes. In the excerpt above, Danny's mother mentioned her lack of knowledge of the Internet and distributed attention across her children, and how that made her trust her son, creating an expectation that he would share the knowledge that he learnt at school. In Danny's mother's account, she used trust in order to keep her relationship with Danny in good condition, indicating the positive expectation that by using trust Danny's mother would be able to support intimate family relationships; this has been shown by Newell and colleagues (2015), as expounded upon earlier.

The notion of trust as a positive expectation, and confidence towards the trustee, can be seen in Spy Guy's mother's relationships with her son:

Spy Guy's mother:	<i>I know my son is responsible. I think it is a good way, he speaks to his friends, shows what he has done to their friends, as long as there is no abuse. So long as it doesn't get used in a bad way. That's fine. I trust him. You know, not to be silly.</i>
Me:	<i>Ok. How would you describe yourself in terms of the Internet parenting style?</i>
Spy Guy's mother:	<i>Relaxed, but not that I don't care. I'm relaxed because I can trust him.</i>

(Interview, 22 Sept 2014)

Spy Guy's mother notes that she trusts her son and she is confident that her son will act according to her expectations while online, so she feels less worried about allowing him to engage on the Internet without supervision. With regards to her last statement in the above excerpt, it is clear that trusting her son has made her relaxed but engaged.

Kelton and colleagues (2008) argue that trust can be developed through a close relationship between parents and their children; this can be seen in Spy Guy's mother's relationship with her son:

*I don't know if it is because it's only him and me that we've got such a bond. I trust him and the minute the trust is broken then it's a different story. Up until now he has been fine. I think because we have always been together. It's probably that we are more like pals rather than mother and son in a way. (Spy Guy's Mother, Interview, 22 Sept 2014)*

Spy Guy's mother admitted that they 'are more like pals', which suggests there is a reduced hierarchical relationship between them, thus leading to the feeling of trust. However, the trust described by Spy Guy's mother's is conditional, as was evidenced when she said: 'I trust him and the minute the trust is broken then it's a different story'. This is where risk and uncertainty come into the picture when discussing trust, specifically the possibility of betrayal, or what McAllister (1998) called 'the dark side of trust'. That Spy Guy's mother says 'it's a different story' suggests that the way she trusts Spy Guy would not be the same if he let her down by acting against her expectations. I further asked Spy Guy's mother to give an example of what she would do if her son violated her trust expectations:

*I bought my son games that are older than his age, but that is just the mutual trust between him and me. If I found him upstairs swearing or shouting, the game would be taken from him. (Spy Guy's Mother, Interview, 22 Sept 2014)*

Through this excerpt, it is clear that Spy Guy's mother has an expectation that Spy Guy will not misuse her trust, that he will behave while playing the games, failing which she will take the games from him.

Spy Guy's mother's trust relationship with her son was selected for discussion compared to the other parent-child participants in this study for two reasons: First, Spy Guy's mother provides the most detailed explanation related to trust and privacy, and second, despite her acknowledgement that she trusts her son, Spy Guy's mother's action showed contrarily; this will be explained further in the following subsections.

#### **(a) Parental control and trust**

As mentioned earlier, despite Spy Guy's mother's acknowledgment that she trusted her son, meaning that she should not be monitoring her son's online activities, as argued by Rooney (2010) and Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat (2010) – her actual act suggested differently, which will be explained below:

<i>Me:</i>	<i>When he is on the Internet, who decides on the content of what he sees [on the Internet]? Is it you or your son?</i>
<i>Spy Guy's mother:</i>	<i>He is free to do whatever he wants. I haven't put any rules on it. I spoke to him and I told him obviously that I trusted him, not to be silly, that I can check the user history and look at what he is looking at and, if ever I found something that he shouldn't be looking at, then I'll be taking it off him.</i>
<i>Me:</i>	<i>So the mutual trust is there?</i>
<i>Spy Guy's mother:</i>	<i>Yeah and I've always trusted him like that. I don't want to put any restrictions on him because he never needs them.</i>

*(Interview, 22 Sept 2014)*

As described above by Spy Guy's mother suggested that trust allows the trustee (Spy Guy) to feel free to do whatever he wants so long as he is aware of the expectations that the trustor (Spy Guy's mother) has of him (Demant and Ravn, 2013). Her statement that *"I told him obviously that I trusted him, not to be silly"* is the positive expression of confidence in a child (Rooney, 2010), related to confidence in the child's capacity to do something. However, despite Spy Guy's mother's acknowledgement that she refused to put any restrictions on her son, and that she had not installed any filtering software on the computer, her actual practice indicated that Spy Guy is not totally free from surveillance. Note that in the excerpt above she mentions the latent threat of checking the user history. Additionally, his mother knowing his Facebook password, being one of his 'friends' on Facebook, and regularly checking the

messages on his Xbox indicates that Spy Guy is still under her surveillance. The act of monitoring by Spy Guy's mother is also indicated in the following excerpt:

*I play Xbox now. So I always have a wee look. He looks at my stuff; I look at his. He doesn't mind me checking because he doesn't have anything to hide. (Spy Guy's Mother, Interview, 22 Sept 2014)*

As mentioned earlier, trust involves a willingness to be vulnerable. In this case, Spy Guy's willingness to allow his mother to hold his Facebook account password and regularly check his messages on the Xbox indicates that he is taking the risk of losing his privacy to his mother. Although Spy Guy's mother gives her son freedom to be involved actively in online games, the act of regularly checking her son's Xbox messages indicates that Spy Guy is still under surveillance, being monitored by his mother. In terms of trust, Spy Guy's mother's act could relate to what Markoczy (2003) referred to as 'trustful vigilance', supporting the concept of 'trust, but verify', first coined by Suzzane Massie, a Russian writer. Markoczy (2003) argues that trustful vigilance is not similar to the concept of distrust as the trustor still trusts the trustee, obtains the information about the trustor, and takes into account the risks and benefits of trusting. This means that according to Markoczy's types of trustful individual, Spy Guy's mother could be categorised as a 'prudent trustor', someone who has trust but also at the same time is vigilant about what he or she trusts in.

Overall, Spy Guy's mother's narration indicated use of the monitoring parental mediation strategy, as her actions involved elements of observation and issues over confidentiality (Rooney, 2010; Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat, 2010; Pasquier et al, 2012). However, does Spy Guy take the view that his mother's acts 'breach' his privacy, thus breaching his trust towards his mother?

During the focus groups discussion, Spy Guy was asked about the idea of having his mother as one of his Facebook friends, by using Emily (the character in the vignette) as an example. Below is his response:

*I think she [Emily] should [add her mother as a Facebook friends] because her mother would see her Facebook if a stranger commented and said stuff. (Spy Guy,*



*Focus Group P6A, 28 August 2014).*

Spy Guy was of the opinion that Emily's mother should know about her online activities so that she could check if any stranger commented on Emily's Facebook. Spy Guy's response could be based on what his mother said about her act of consistently checking on his activities:

*He [Spy Guy] understands that I'm not just looking because I want to be nosy. He knows that I'm looking for safety reasons. (Spy Guy's mother, Individual Interview, 22 Sept 2014).*

Spy Guy's mother was confident that Spy Guy understood that her actions were beneficial to him. Based on Spy Guy's above excerpt, he seems to have understood that his mother's 'nosiness' was for his safety.

To understand whether Spy Guy's stance on privacy breached his contextual integrity, I asked him about what privacy meant to him. He said:

*I think privacy is when somebody wants to see what you're doing, and you don't let them see. You just keep blocking everybody from what you're doing on your laptop, Facebook or Twitter. (Spy Guy, Focus Group P6A, 28 Aug 2014).*

Spy Guy's understanding of privacy, as being left alone and not being seen, contradicts his mother's actions in this regard. According to Spy Guy's definition of privacy above, it seems that his mother's action may have breached his expectations regarding privacy. However, this might not be the case for Spy Guy, as he shared his password with his mother and this was acceptable to him. Answering the earlier question of whether Spy Guy thinks his mother's acts are a 'breach' of his privacy, and thus a breach of his trust towards his mother: a sense of trust is felt between Spy Guy and his mother. It is possible that Spy Guy is accustomed to the way his mother treats him, and as such he does not feel an absence of privacy even though he is closely monitored by his mother.

The practice of sharing passwords is common between children and their parents (Lenhart et al, 2011; boyd, 2014); as argued by boyd (2014), most parents make password sharing a condition of access and a mechanism of protection. In this study, the issue of trust also emerges in relation to passwords. Sarah, Spy Guy, and a few other child participants in this

study share their passwords with their parents, but Wonderland (P6) expressed the opposite view when I asked her about this:

*No, I don't think they [parents] should know all activities like Facebook. They should not know our password, because if they know that we do not have our privacy (Wonderland, Focus Group P6A, 28 Sept 2014).*

In my interview with Wonderland, she specifically mentioned that her mother was the one who created Wonderland's Twitter account, meaning that her mother knows her password. However, Wonderland's statement above suggested that she may not approve that her mother know her password. I further asked Wonderland how she would feel if her parents monitored her online activities:

*I would feel terrible cause I tell them not to go on it and, if they did, I wouldn't want to go on it [SNS] again [...] I would go upstairs. I want to have privacy on my own (Wonderland, Focus Group P6A, 28 Sept 2014).*

Note that Wonderland mentioned that a breach in privacy would be 'terrible', which is an indicator that her trust and privacy expectations would be breached if her parents monitored her online activities. Wonderland also mentioned that she would not go on the SNS again, suggesting an alteration in her behaviour as an effect of being monitored (Solove, 2006). In Wonderland's case, the implied meaning is not that she does not trust her parents or wishes to undermine her parents' desire to protect her, but that she has an expectation that her parents will trust her and to give her space for privacy by not monitoring her online activities.

This subsection has discussed the effects of trust and parental control in the context of children's engagement on the Internet.

#### **7.4.3 Children's and parents' trust differences**

This subsection discusses trust-level differences in the child-parent dyad, as well as factors affecting parents' trust of their children. Children's levels of trust for their parent is compared to parents' levels of trust for their children, based on the Internet parenting style used. In addition, comparison will be made between the parents, to glean what influenced their trust levels of their children.

The comparison children' levels of trust in their parent with parents' level of trust to their children will be based on two categories of the Internet mediation strategies, i.e. between children and parents with (1) the fully supportive Internet mediation strategies, and (2) the less supportive Internet mediation strategies. As described in **Chapter 3**, the active mediation and active co-use mediation strategies could be categorised as fully supportive Internet mediation strategies. The subsequent paragraph will show the trust differences between children and parents who use fully supportive Internet mediation strategies.

Discussion from the previous subsection and **Chapter 5** suggested that Lion's father and Sarah's mother used fully supportive Internet mediation strategies when dealing with their children. In **Chapter 5**, Lion's father explicitly mentioned the negative effects his children would experience if not exposed to the benefits of the Internet. He thus encouraged Lion to explore the Internet, prompting him to utilise technology for communication and gain information about his interests, including animation. By allowing his son to explore the Internet and supporting his son's online activities without the need for monitoring suggested that Lion's father fully trusts his son. Lion's father was asked about his style of Internet parenting:

*Me: Actually who decides? Do you have any say in what he wants to see on the Internet?*

*Lion's father: I let him decide.*

*Me: Any particular reason for you to do that?*

*Lion's father: I think it is all right. He needs to find whatever information he needs.*

*(Individual Interview, 24 Oct 2014)*

Lion's father trusts his son to make his own decisions while online. However, does Lion trust his father, as much as his father trusts him?

*Me: What are the things you normally share with your father?*

*Lion: Like what I've done, what is happening. Like say I found out something and I can print like a document and then show it.*

*(Individual interview, 6 Aug 2014)*

Recall the discussion from **Section 7.2**, that trustors with a high level of trust of their trustee tend to be more comfortable to share or disclose voluntarily their online activities (Haddon, 2015). Here, Lion's willingness to share his online activities with his father signified his trust

in his father. The same situation applies to Sarah. In addition to what has been discussed in **Section 7.4.1**, the below interview excerpt is further evidence showcasing Sarah's willingness to share her personal information with her mother:

*Me: So she knows your password?*

*Sarah: Yeah, she knows my email password and my iPad and my phone.*

*Me: Instagram as well?*

*Sarah: Not my Instagram, but I will tell her, it's not a big thing. But she doesn't mind, she knows I'm ok when I'm on it.*

*(Individual Interview, 30<sup>th</sup> Oct 2014).*

Sarah believes that her mother trusts her. As mentioned in **Section 7.4.1**, Sarah's willingness to allow her mother to know what she does online comes with the expectation that her mother will be able to help should she face any problems while online. Overall, Lion's and Sarah's situations demonstrate that the fully supportive Internet type of mediation allows symmetrical trust to develop between parents and their child, thus supporting intimate family relationships.

Whilst Lion's and Sarah's situations represent fully supportive Internet mediation strategies, Minion, Becca, Batman and Spy Guy received less supportive Internet mediation strategies from their parents. The less supportive Internet mediation strategies consists of the restrictive, monitoring and technical monitoring mediation strategies.

Recall in **Chapter 6** discussed about Minion's father's acknowledged that he was applying a restrictive approach. However, does this mean that Minion's father does not trust her daughter? This is explained in the following excerpt:

*The only danger we don't want is someone taking a picture of them and posting it online on Facebook and all that stuff. We are not worried about them, but we worry about their friends, taking pictures and putting them on social networking, because lots of them have smartphones nowadays.*

*(Minion's father, Individual Interview, 24<sup>th</sup> Oct 2014)*

According to Minion's father, he is not worried about what his daughter will do on the Internet, which suggests that he trusts his daughter. However, he is worried about the possibility that someone else, particularly his daughter's friends, will take pictures and

upload them to SNSs. His view could be related to his professional knowledge, as he holds a degree in Information Technology. He noted the following:

*If you go on the Internet, anybody can look at you. They say that the Internet is a window into the world, but actually it's the opposite of it. Yeah, there is no privacy over there.*

*(Minion's father, Individual Interview, 24<sup>th</sup> Oct 2014)*

Minion's father was of the view that once someone's information is shared on the Internet, it will be accessible to everyone. He also rejected the idea that the Internet makes it possible to see and learn about what is happening in other parts of the world. For him, the larger concern is that stranger can see how you yourself use the Internet. Minion's father's excerpt suggested that he has issues of trust not with his daughter, but with the strangers and the online service providers. Recall discussion in **Chapter 5** regarding his negative view of the Internet. Minion's situation suggested that although her father was restrictive about her online engagement, which deprives her of online autonomy, it does not mean she is not entitled to full trust from her father. It is her father's lack of trust towards online strangers and the Internet itself that lead him to be restrictive about his daughter's online participation.

Comparing Lion's and Minion's fathers, both of them have an extensive knowledge about the information technology. However, despite their extensive knowledge about the Internet, both hold different views about their children's online engagement; this is informed by the trust that they have toward the Internet and online strangers. Minion's father's negative views of the Internet, discussed in **Chapter 5**, affected his trust of the Internet and to online strangers, causing him to be restrictive on her children's online activities. In contrast, Lion's father's positive views of the Internet have made him aware on the benefits that his children could have with their online participation.

Knowing that Minion's father applied restrictive mediation strategy, does this affects Minion's trust to her father? During the interview, Minion was asked about her view of her parents' Internet parenting style; she expressed herself in a positive tone:

*Me: So, are you ok with that approach?*

*Minion: I'm ok. I think it is really good that they [her parents] tell us what we should and shouldn't do because lots of things can go wrong with the Internet if you don't do the right stuff and if your parents don't tell you what is good and what is not good. So I think it's good. If they open to their friends a bit, they know that it is necessary, so that it is good to do that because my dad is very good about the Internet*

*(Individual Interview, 30 Sept 2014)*

Minion's explanation suggests that she is comfortable with her parents' online practices and rules. In addition, she explained that their style of parenting made her feel good, as she trusts the knowledge that her father has about the Internet. Minion believes the Internet is not a safe place, and so guidance from her parents is welcome; this attitude might have been influenced by her parents:

*Me: You were worried about other people, your children's friends took pictures of them and put them on the Internet?*  
*Minion's father: Yeah, but at the moment, my daughter is very aware. When other people take her picture, she will ask them what are they going to do with her picture.*  
*Me: That's good. So, how do you think she knows about all that?*  
*Minion's father: It is mainly from school. We also told her that the Internet is not safe at all.*  
*Me: Meaning that you guide her as well?*  
*Minion's father: Yeah we do.*

*(Interview, 24 Sept 2014)*

The above excerpt was another evidence that Minion's father is confident that his daughter is aware of the issues of Internet safety, and it is possible that Minion's opinion of the Internet as an unsafe place is the result of parental influence. Minion's father's trust toward his daughter is evident in that he is more worried about what Minion's friends could do with her information (in this case photographs), rather than Minion herself disclosing her information on SNS.

As discussed in **Section 7.2**, trust requires dependency between the trustor and trustee; this can be seen in the conversation below:

*Me: Your friends have Facebook and Instagram, don't you want to have it too?*  
*Minion: I want to have it, but at the same time I have to refer to my mother and dad the good and bad things before I get it. I will not get something that I don't know about. I might not get it straight away,*

*because it a bit too much. But I think it depends whether it is necessary or not.*

*(Individual Interview, 30 Sept 2014)*

Unlike many child participants in this study, Minion was not signed up to any social networking sites like Instagram and Facebook. When asked whether she wished she had accounts, Minion mentioned that she would need to discuss opening a social networking account with her parents prior to doing so. This could be due to her perception she has of her parents' concern about her engagement on the Internet as well as her dependency on their opinions. This also signifies her trustworthiness as a trustee; Minion demonstrated respect of her parents' trust toward her by abiding by their opinion regarding SNS accounts. Minion's situation answers the question posed in **Section 7.3** regarding the development of trustworthiness in children via their parent's trust; trust indeed plays a significant role in any exchange where both trustor and trustee have clear expectations of each other (Misztal, 1996), and Minion's case was no exception. Minion's expectation that she should have her own time and space was clear to her parents, and reciprocally her parents' expectation that she be aware of safety concerns both online and offline environments was clear to Minion.

The other type of trust relationship is exemplified by Spy Guy and his mother. **Section 7.4.2** explained Spy Guy's trust relationship with his mother, concluding that Spy Guy's mother was a 'prudent trustor' - someone who is careful and vigilant about what he or she trust; Spy Guy's mother sometimes checked her son's conversations on Xbox. Nonetheless, despite having been monitored, Spy Guy did not consider his mother's actions as a breach of his privacy. His mother's actions were thus not a breach of his trust towards her. The other similar scenario of child-parent trust relationships can be explained by Becca's trust relationship with her mother. In **Chapter 5**, Becca's mother explicitly mentioned that she is restrictive about the type of online content Becca can access, as she is concerned how her daughter will deal emotionally with violence/gory images. This suggests that Becca's mother is also a 'prudent trustor', like Spy Guy's mother. Even though Becca's mother did not

monitor her daughter's online activities, her act of controlling Becca's online usage suggests she is vigilant about her trust of Becca.

In **Chapter 5**, I mentioned that both Lion's father and Becca's mother were generally positive about the benefits the Internet could bring their children, yet Becca's Internet access is still restricted. This could mean that Becca's mother is in a phase of increasing her trust of Becca's participation on the Internet – unlike Lion's father who already fully trusts Lion's online engagement. Recall that Becca's mother also mentioned her intention to guide and scaffold Becca's online engagement so that Becca could gradually learn to deal with her emotions when facing violence content. This suggests that she had the intention of increasing her trust of Becca.

Is Becca's trust of her mother similar to her mother's trust of Becca? During the individual interviews, Becca explicitly mentioned that she is OK if her parents would like to know about her online activities, which indicated that she has full trust towards her parents. It is clear that Becca's trust relationship with her mother is similar to Spy Guys' trust of his mother. Both Spy Guy and Becca indicated full trust of their mother, alongside their mothers' vigilance over their children. In terms of symmetry between child-parent trust relationships, Spy Guy's and Becca's trust relationship is not as symmetrical as Lion's, Sarah's and Minion's trust relationships with their parents.

While most of the examples so far show trustful child-parent relationships, Batman's narrative indicated a distrustful child-parent relationship. Batman's situation is similar to Spy Guy's. Both of their online activities were monitored and checked by their mothers. However, the difference between Batman's situation and Spy Guy's situation was a lack of communication between Batman and his mother that resulted in a lack of understanding about each others' expectations, thus affecting their trust relationship. Recall Spy Guy's mother's statement, where she mentioned that she and her son 'are more like pals'; this



suggested the close relationship that she had with her son, thus tightening their trust relationship.

In sum, this subsection has shown that children trust their parents based on how they perceive their parents' trust of them. In other word, the relationship is reciprocal: children will trust their parents if they feel that their parents also trust them. On the contrary, children who felt that they did not have their parents' trust failed to trust their parents, as Batman's experience indicates. Beside Batman, the child participants discussed in this section had full trust in their parents regardless of the types of Internet mediation strategy they received. One possible reason for this could relate to Manson and O'Neill's (2007) argument about the trust children have of their parents. At this juncture, it could be that Lion, Minion, Becca, Sarah and Spy Guy are still in the phase of blindly trusting their parents, based on the expectation that their parents will protect them. This could be why they were willingly to share and disclose all of their online activities with their parents. However, this trust can be changed. This is based on argument by Manson and O'Neill (2007):

*"[...]. However, nearly all of us move on from blind trust as we learn that some people are more trustworthy than others, and that they can be trusted in some ways but not in others" (p.161).*

An example that the trust could be changed would be if Spy Guy became uncomfortable his mother checking his online activities. According to Nissenbaum CI, the feeling of discomfort signifies that privacy has been breached, thus effecting the trust that Spy Guy originally had towards his mother.

In addition, the data showed that the less supportive Internet mediation strategy used by parents does not correlate with the trust parents have of their children. Although children's online activities were monitored, restricted or checked by their parents, this does not mean that the parents did not trust their children. As indicated by Minion's case, it was her father's lack of trust of the Internet and online strangers that caused her father to be restrictive about Minion's online engagement. In addition, the examples given have showed that two-ways communication appears to be beneficial in increasing trust in child-parent relationships.

Overall, this section has explored the notion of trust that exists between parents and their children in the online context including how trust develops, what trust means to children and parents, trust and the issues of online monitoring, and the trust differences in child-parent relationships. I will proceed with the discussion of children's trust in the context of their engagement on the Internet, via SNS and with online strangers they 'meet' while using the Internet in the next section.

## 7.5 Children's view on trust and privacy with online strangers

A recurring theme mentioned by both child and parent participants in this study relates to the perception of 'strangers' in the online environment; there are two issues that warrant a detailed discussion. First, meeting strangers is a natural part of development and social processes; meeting strangers is unavoidable, be it in online or offline situations (Dedkova, 2015).

Waldman (2014) emphasizes that trust can occur between strangers and, in the context of children's engagement with the Internet, trust is needed when children do not know with whom they are connecting. To explicate this, the following conversation with Batman was selected, as he provides the most detailed explanation on how he communicates with strangers online:

- Me: Have you ever played (online games) with someone you didn't know?*
- Batman: I have played with a couple of boys. One of them is from the Netherlands. I don't really talk to him that much but we just play games together*
- Me: Do you trust him?*
- Batman: Yeah, because he doesn't really do that much. He just plays the games. He is quite nice, because he did message me something and then he sent me 100 points of Microsoft points.*
- Me: I see. Do you play with your classmate, or schoolmate as well?*
- Batman: Yeah. I play with my friends in the other school as well. Sometimes the boy in England starts swearing when he is really mad and I don't play with him that much.*

*(Individual Interview, 3 Nov 2014)*

Note that Batman compared his Dutch friend and his English friend, expressing positive thoughts about his Dutch friend due to his willingness to share the games points and generally behave well; such an attitude fosters the condition for a trust relationship to occur. This is line with Rawlins's (2009) arguments that mutual trust between a dyad is produced when they show respect to each other and act out of kindness. There is an element of expectation here, wherein the stranger as a trustee is expected to show that he/she are reliable, honest, and worthy of friendship.

The other element that renders individuals likely to befriend strangers is perceived commonality (Friedman, 1993). Note that trust involves the trustor 'trusting' the trustee, who has similar goals and values (Waldman, 2014). Here, in the case of Batman and his Dutch friend, both have similar interests and goals and they also depend upon each other for satisfaction while playing the game. This corresponds to Rousseau and colleagues' (1998) and Tschannen-Moran and Hoy's (2000) argument that dependence must exist for trust to occur. Batman's situation also demonstrates how trust can slowly build with strangers over time (Rotenberg, 2010). Batman's friendship with the Dutch boy began by playing games on the same platform, both anonymous to each other, though Batman began to regard him as a friend after he acted on goodwill and caused no harm.

The second issue that warrants detailed discussion is related to views toward online strangers. As discussed in the previous chapter, the majority of child and parent participants in this study described the presence of strangers on the Internet leads to the assumption that the Internet is an unsafe place for children; strangers were labelled in a negative way, using words such as 'dangerous', 'paedophile', 'hacker', and so on. Furthermore, as highlighted by Livingstone and colleagues (2011), 'offline' or face-to-face meetings with online strangers is considered one of riskiest online activities for children, which could explain why children's interaction with strangers is normally portrayed as negative. In light of this, Fire Red's experience and views towards strangers are discussed below as it represented a different view from the other child participants.

Unlike other child participants who commonly mentioned that they only participated in either Facebook or Instagram, Fire Red specifically mentioned that she joined XYZ (name anonymised due to confidentiality) website after being shown by her aunt. The XYZ is one of the social interactive website specifically designed for children aged 8 to 15 years old. Fire Red mentioned that at one time her profile was hacked by someone and she was unable to use it for two weeks. When asked what she did when the incident happened:

*I created a new account and then another account to see whether the person was still hacking me. (Fire Red, Individual Interview, 23 Sep 2014)*

Note that the hacking incident did not undermine Fire Red to continue her engagement on this website. Despite the negative views on strangers by most children in this study and also the experience of being hacked, Fire Red expressed an opposing view when asked whether she knew all of her 'friends' on the XYZ website to which she subscribed:

*I know some of them and there are lot of strangers and they are nice though. (Fire Red, Individual Interview, 23 Sep 2014)*

Fire Red had positive views about the strangers, possibly related to the positive experiences she has had in communicating with them through the application, despite being hacked once. It could be there is no adverse impact from the hacking incident and Fire Red's eagerness to be part of the community to have fun and to make friends that made her decided to create the new profile and continue to join the website.

When asked how she authenticated her 'friend' in XYZ website as another child, she said:

*Because there is selfie picture on their profile. (Fire Red, Individual Interview, 23 Sep 2014)*

Here, Fire Red is taking a risk in trusting that the selfie photographs used by her 'friends' in XYZ website are real. The other situation of 'trusting strangers' is showed by Specs:

*Me: Do you ever play [Xbox] with someone that you didn't know?  
Specs: I have, but not very often.  
Me: Aha.. so how does it start, do you request from them, or they request from you?  
Specs: There is a function called Party and you can invite them to speak.  
Me: How old are they?  
Specs: I think about 12 years old  
Me: How do you know that?  
Specs: Because they sound like my voice, kind of and they told me they are about 12, 14, something like that.*

*(Specs, Individual Interview, 6 Nov 2104)*

Whilst Fire Red mentioned that she visually authenticated the identity of her online 'friends', Specs on the other hand used voice to evaluate whether his online 'friends' are children. As showed by Fire Red and Specs, they used various ways to verify that their online friends were authentic. The process of verifying is important to help establish expectations and trust

thus strengthening the friendship. A study by Owen and Wescott (2013) showed there were various ways that could be used by individuals to assess their online acquaintances to gain trust. Among them was by referring to online associate as informal reference and use the online platform itself to see how the new online acquaintances' communicate with self and others so that judgement about the person could be made and to ascertain potential 'risk'.

According to Valenzuela and colleagues (2009), individuals' engagement with social networks may lead them to interact and expand their network of contacts, as well as encourage the development of trust and reciprocity. This can be seen in the trust relationship between Lion and strangers on the animation website:

- Me: Do you upload these [animation] pictures by yourself or does your father help you?*  
*Lion: I did that one by myself. I used the camera and all of these three are scanned.*  
*Me: So, other people can comment on your drawing?*  
*Lion: Yeah. Other people can upload some, so they can 'Like'*  
*Me: Can I see the comments?*  
*Lion showed the comments made by other users on the pictures he uploaded.*  
*Me: Oo lovely, cool [as commented by the stranger about Lion's drawing]. Do you know him?*  
*Lion: I don't really know him but I like his comments on that. Because I have been there [animation website] quite sometimes and I know who he is.*

*(Individual interview, 6 Aug 2014)*

**Chapter 5** discussed Lion's father's interest in animation and how it has encouraged his son to participate in similar activities. In my interview with Lion's father he specifically mentioned that he sometimes looks at the animation videos that Lion has uploaded to YouTube, as well as Lion's comments on other users' animation, suggesting that he supports what his son does. Lion's father did not consider this to be monitoring: he specifically mentioned that he did not monitor his children's activities, as he himself did not like to be monitored. The support and encouragement of Lion's interest indicates the high level of trust Lion's father has toward his son. Lion's engagement in social networks has led him to interact with strangers and allowed him to expand his network of contacts. This is also where Valenzuela and colleagues' (2009) earlier argument is applicable. Additionally, the positive comments

from the other website users could be encouragement for Lion's creative thinking and development.

Overall, this subsection has discussed how trust can be developed with strangers. Note that the data shown here provide a more nuanced definition of 'strangers', where some may be beneficial to interact with. Batman, Specs, Fire Red, and Lion demonstrated that their interactions with unknown people have benefits: playing games together, socialising and making friends. As highlighted by Cernikova and colleagues (2016), children's interaction with online strangers should not be seen only in a negative context as a risky activity. They argue that children who have experience interacting with the online strangers perceived communication as beneficial, as they can meet new people, and generally have fun and enjoy talking about games they play, hobbies or experiences they share. As discussed, some of the child participants exposed themselves to a risk in communicating with someone whom they did not meet or have knowledge with, albeit that they were aware that this constituted a risk. According to Livingstone and Helsper (2007), this situation – children participating in a situation often perceived as risky by adults is normally seen as an opportunity by children. As mentioned earlier, meeting strangers is natural part of social processes and is almost impossible not to make connection with them both online and offline situations. Additionally, as argued by Manson and O'Neill (2007):

*"Childish trust is indeed blind at first, a matter of attitude and affect rather than of judgement: children do not weigh up evidence in favour of trusting or decide to trust in the light of evidence." (p.161).*

Note that Manson and O'Neill mentioned that human's trust is blind at first and by learning, or through experience, trust could be developed.

The next section will discuss the relationships of trust and privacy between children and the providers of the online platforms.

## 7.6 Children's view on trust and privacy with providers of online platforms

Trust is not only a human-to-human phenomenon. The data obtained in this study revealed that trust exists between children and technology - in this case the providers of online platforms.

During the focus groups and the individual interviews, the children were asked whether they trust the online provider - in this case Facebook, Instagram, and also online games providers - to keep their information safe. Almost all child participants showed a high level of confidence that these providers would not disclose their information to others, particularly strangers. They were of the view that once they set the privacy settings to 'On', the applications would function as intended and their information would only be accessible by their 'friends' on the applications. Nevertheless, while nearly all the children in this study mentioned that they depended on the privacy settings to protect their information, some of them were unsure how to access the privacy setting page:

- Interviewer:* Do you have any idea about the function of the privacy setting [on Facebook]?
- Specs:* So that random who is a bit dodgy can't look into your account.
- Interviewer:* Do you know where the privacy settings are located on Facebook?
- Specs:* I'm not too sure.
- Interviewer:* Ok. It's ok, but do you think your Facebook already been set to private?
- Specs:* I'm not sure.
- Interviewer:* Let's say in your case, it is not set to private, do you think everyone can see you?
- Specs:* Yeah, but I don't put so much information about myself.

*(Individual Interview, 6 Nov 2014)*

Specs' situation was contradictory: he is aware of the consequences of not establishing the privacy settings on Facebook, but at the same time he was unsure of whether his Facebook account had been set to private or not. Yet, Specs displayed a calm attitude even in the face of uncertainty about his Facebook privacy settings, which could be due to the trust that he has toward Facebook:

- Interviewer:* So, Specs do you trust the Internet [to keep your information safe]?
- Specs:* Some websites yes, but not all of them.



*Interviewer: Ok. Which ones can trust, and which ones do you think you cannot trust?*  
*Specs: Facebook and YouTube. These are two websites that I usually go on.*

*(Individual Interview, 6 Nov 2014)*

Although Specs did not specifically mention why he trusted Facebook and YouTube, the ability of these two applications to work as intended and not give him any problems could be the reason why he mentioned that he trusted them.

In establishing participants' trust levels towards the providers of the online platforms, the children were asked whether they thought personal information keyed in on the Internet, for example through Google, Instagram or Facebook, would be stored by these providers.

Almaaz (P7B) displayed a confidence similar to Specs towards the applications:

*Yeah. I don't mind if they do it [store personal information]. I think I don't mind because I don't tell anyone where I live, how old I am. My friends already know. I use Direct Message in Instagram to send pictures so only people that I am interacting with can see it. (Almaaz, Individual Interview, 31 Oct 2014)*

In her detailed response, Almaaz mentioned that she used the 'Direct Message' function on Instagram, which according to her, meant that she limits the disclosure of the information she was sharing. This suggests a level of trust toward the online providers not to reveal her conversations with her friends. The use of 'Direct Message' function in Instagram or 'Private Message' function in Facebook as way of controlling information is common practice by child participants in this study. This suggest that some of the child participants may use the private messaging function as data minimisation strategy. This could be a result of a certain level of resignation in that children are already aware that once information was disclosed, it might be distributed without their control.

**Section 7.2.3** has discussed the importance for the applications or SNSs to consistently work properly or in a flawless manner and also able to provide adequate and responsive help thus increase users' trust. This can be seen in the below excerpt by Fire Red:

*Interviewer: Why do you like this game [XYZ website]?*

*Fire Red: It is because it's fun, you can dress your character, buy the clothes and make videos and people liked it.*

*Interviewer: So do you like the feature like it can chat kind of things?*

*Fire Red: Yeah. I find it quite good. It got hashtag note, like someone wants to swear then it shows like hashtag.*

*Interviewer: So by saying that do you think that the person who developed the website knows what you do on the Internet?*

*Fire Red: Yeah because they put up the forms as well, they normally update the site and change background as well.*

*Interviewer: So do you aware of that?*

*Fire Red: Yeah because they are the people who made the characters all that stuff.*

*(Individual Interview, 23 Sep 2014)*

The previous section discussed that Fire Red specifically mentioned that she had once been hacked. Nevertheless, this does not undermine Fire Red continued participation in XYZ website community in order to have fun as mentioned above. Fire Red found that it was good for the XYZ website to provide the filtering function to prevent inappropriate words being displayed and subsequently discourage children from using swear words on the website, suggesting the trust that she placed on the safety of this website in exposing unsuitable words to children. Note also the awareness showed by Fire Red about the existence of 'someone' behind the development of the application that know about children's information shared on the application.

Related to the issue of privacy and trust with online service providers is children's awareness of the possibility that the service providers will use their data for other purposes, such as marketing. While this issue is highlighted by Lion's father and Becca's mother, who specifically mentioned the possibility that their data might be used by online service providers for marketing purposes, no child participants mentioned this. When asked about this issue, most children consistently mentioned their trust in the online provider to safeguard their information, as seen in Almaaz's excerpts above.

This section has discussed the trust children have towards the providers of the online platforms or, in other words, 'trust in technology'. Overall, the child participants displayed

relatively high expectations toward the providers of the online platforms, particularly in relation to functionality of privacy settings.

## **7.7 The benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parental mediation strategies**

This section discusses the benefits and disadvantages of the Internet parental mediation strategies in terms of children's autonomy, online privacy and the three provisions of children's rights: protection, provision and participation. Discussing this will help us understand how the values of privacy, the safety of children, children's autonomy and children's rights in navigating the Internet should be balanced, as highlighted earlier in **Chapter 3**.

### **7.7.1 The benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parental mediation strategies in children's online privacy and autonomy**

**Chapter 2** has theoretically discussed why privacy is important in one's life by focusing on the meaning of autonomy, and why autonomy is critically associated with children's development. Subsequently, **Chapter 6** showed that autonomy is indeed important in privacy – as understood from the data - in the sense that privacy without autonomy is meaningless. Recall the finding that both child and parent participants' views of online privacy related to having control or having autonomy. However, what remains unanalysed is how, overall, these different types of parental mediation strategies affect children's autonomy and online privacy. **Table 7.1** below summarises the overall benefits and disadvantages of each of the Internet parenting mediation strategies in terms of the autonomy they allow regarding children's online privacy.

**Table 7.1: Benefits and disadvantages of types of Internet parental mediation strategies towards children's autonomy and online privacy**

<b>Types of mediation</b>	<b>Privacy from parents</b>	<b>Privacy from other 'actors' of Internet</b>	<b>Autonomy</b>
Active	Yes	No	Full
Active Co-Use	No	Yes	Full
Restrictive	Yes	Yes	Limited
Monitoring	No	Yes	Limited
Technical restriction	Yes	Yes	Limited

As mentioned in **Section 7.4.3**, the active mediation and active co-use mediation strategies could be categorised as fully supportive Internet parental mediation strategies, as they encourage children to make their own decisions based on the guidance that parents provide. Note that children's engagement on the Internet requires them to exert their autonomy. Recall discussion in **Chapter 2** about the affordances of the Internet: boyd (2012) contends that necessary knowledge and skills are required, and individuals need to comprehend the situation to enable them to make informed decisions on what is to be shared and how, to whom and when, in the online environment. This is where fully supportive parents could play a role in explaining to their children the options and possible consequences of any actions taken while on the Internet. The other three mediation strategies (restrictive, monitoring and technical monitoring) are categorised as limited or less supportive Internet parental mediation strategies, as they deprive children's opportunities to make their own decisions about the contents of the Internet they would like to access, social media with which they would like to participate or with whom they would like to communicate in the online environment.

As discussed in **Section 7.4.3**, the benefits of fully supportive Internet parental mediation strategies to children can be seen in Lion and Sarah. Lion's father's positive view about the benefits of the Internet led him to support Lion's online activities, helping his son join an online animation community and SNS. Such exposure allows Lion to be autonomous, deciding on his own various types of online activities in which he wanted to participate (Google+ and animation website), and also whom he wanted to communicate with on social networks. As for Sarah, her opportunities to autonomously decide about her online activities are evident in the excerpt below:

*I play a game and use iPad, checked my Instagram, click it and pay a couple of games I downloaded. So maybe it would be an hour a day, sort of. Sometimes I watched a video and YouTube something like that. (Individual Interview, 30<sup>th</sup> Oct 2014)*

Similar to Lion, Sarah was able to actively use the Internet for various activities. Not only that, she was able to buy the online games on her own. This could be the effect of trust that her parents have towards her, as discussed in **Section 7.4.3**.

Children's engagement on the Internet requires them to exert their autonomy. Autonomy is thus related to children's online participation. The discussion of children who received less supportive Internet parental mediation strategies, for example Minion and Becca, will be discussed in the context of their online participation in the next subsection.

Moving on to the aspect of privacy, it is clear that the active mediation, restrictive mediation and technical mediation strategies support children's online privacy from parents. Children are able to have their privacy from their parents with these three strategies as parents' access or exposure to children's personal information is low compared to the monitoring and active co-use mediation strategies. Recall discussion in **Section 7.4.1**, above, that showed Sarah's willingness to allow her mother to access her Facebook account, which suggests that she does not view her online privacy as being violated by her mother.

In contrast, while parents use monitoring mediation to protect their children, this type of mediation style infringes upon a child's privacy (Mathiesen, 2013; Nolan et al, 2010; Rooney,

2010). This is because parents tend to keep an eye on what their children do on the computer, sometimes only allowing the child to use the computer when a parent is present. This is like the active co-use strategy, where parents will sit or stay nearby when their child is online, allowing them to watch what the child does. Findings in **Chapter 6** showed that although there are quite a large numbers of child participants who were of the view that the act of being supervised or monitored by parents does not breach their privacy, there were also some children who believed that parents should not know all about their online activities as it violates their privacy.

However, active mediation may have weak privacy protection from the other 'actors' of the Internet, especially from online strangers and online service providers, as it merely depends on children deciding for themselves what information to share, and with whom to share it. The other strategies provide more benefits in terms of children's privacy from online strangers and online service providers, as children's personal information is less exposed to these two actors, since children's online engagement is limited and restricted by their parents and the Internet filtering software. The aspect of online protection will be further discussed in the next subsection.

#### **7.7.2 The benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parental mediation strategies in children's rights provisions**

Discussion in **Chapter 3** highlighted the lack of recognition of children's rights provisions in the online environment (Livingstone et al, 2015; Livingstone, 2014; Livingstone, 2014a). As such, discussing the benefits and disadvantages of each of the Internet parenting mediation strategies in terms of the three children's rights provisions - protection, provision and participation - will contribute to addressing this gap. Here, online protection relates to the strategies used to minimise children's exposure to online risks, while online provision and participation relate to strategies that seek to maximise children's ability to take advantage of the opportunities that the Internet offers, eventually leading to their digital competence and autonomy. Digital competence means the ability to equip oneself with the necessary skills to create content proficiently and handle mobile devices effectively and efficiently (van-Deursen

et al, 2015). Those benefits and disadvantages are summarised in the **Table 7.2**, below, and will be followed by discussion in the following paragraph.

**Table 7.2: Benefits and disadvantages of types of Internet parental mediation strategies towards children's online protection, provision and participation**

Types of mediation	Online Protection	Online Participation	Online Provision
Active (AM)	Less	Full	Full
Active Co-Use (ACM)	Yes	Full	Full
Restrictive (RM)	Yes	Limited	Limited
Monitoring (MM)	Yes	Limited	Limited
Technical restriction (TM)	Yes	Limited	Limited

In terms of online protection, the active co-use, restrictive, monitoring and technical restriction mediation strategies support children's online protection. The technical restriction mediation prevails over the other three Internet mediation strategies due to parent's ability to block certain websites by using software to access their children's online activities. This goes a step further than restrictive and monitoring mediation, where parents only tell children not to access certain websites they find unsuitable, meaning there is still the possibility that children will access any websites they choose, as those deemed unsuitable are not automatically blocked. The data in this study indicate that technical mediation is sometimes used in collaboration with other types of mediation. For example, Danny's mother and Becca's mother used both restrictive and technical mediation, while Christiano's mother used technical mediation alongside monitoring mediation.

The active mediation strategy, while prevailing over the other types of mediation strategies in terms of autonomy and privacy and online participation and provision, provides the least amount of protection compared to other strategies. This is because, as mentioned in **Section 7.7.1**, active mediation only involves child-parent discussion, without the parent staying nearby or sitting with their child and watching what they do while online; the only way



to know if their child faces problems would be based on what is conveyed by the child his/herself.

Online participation and online provision can be considered in light of the concept of guided participation, as discussed in **Chapter 5**. Guided participation, according to Rogoff (1990), encourages social interaction among children and requires support from another experienced and knowledgeable person to encourage the child's success. The guided participation concept can be seen in both active and active co-use Internet parenting mediation strategies, wherein parents take the initiative to discuss with their children what to do in any worrying situations that may arise on the Internet. The active and active co-use mediation strategies are beneficial in providing supportive learning opportunities, which can lead to positive values, building trust and autonomy, and encouraging online provision and participation. Recall discussion in the previous sections and **Chapter 5** regarding how Lion and Sarah - whose parents exercised active mediation strategies - used the opportunity to actively engage in various activities, benefitting them in terms of social skills, creativity, operational skills and information navigational skills. In the context of children's engagement on the Internet, parents are encouraged to apply mediation strategies and suitable content that support their children's development (as argued, for example by Nikken and Schols, 2015; Nolan et al, 2009).

As mentioned earlier, the restrictive, monitoring and technical restriction strategies were categorised as the less supportive Internet parental mediation strategies. The Internet parental strategies which falls under this category decreases children's autonomy, as parents do not support children exercising their online participation and provision. Limiting their provision in the online environment means limiting their opportunities for creativity, exploration and expression, ability to expand their digital and information skills and literacies, and access to learning resources (Livingstone, 2014). Limiting children's online participation, on the other hand, means restraining them from enhancing connections and networking opportunities, peer to peer connections for sharing and collaborative work, and giving

themselves voices and expression (Livingstone, 2014). It could be observed that Lion and Sarah, whose parents used the active mediation strategy, benefited more in terms of their online participation as compared to Minion and Becca, whose online engagement was restricted by their parent. Lion's and Sarah's participation on the SNSs enabled them to increase their social skills and increase their network of friends; recall discussion on the benefits of meeting strangers in **Section 7.5**. Minion's and Becca's opportunities to enjoy these benefits and increase their social skills, as well as make new friends, might be hindered as they were not participating on SNSs.

As discussed in **Section 7.4** and **Chapter 5**, other than Minion's father and Becca's mother, the less supportive Internet mediation strategies were used by most parent participants in this study, Spy Guy's mother, Richie's mother, Danny's mother, Christiano's mother and Elsa's mother. In addition, based on conversation with Batman, his online activities were also monitored by his mother. Despite their online engagement being restricted and monitored, only Christiano (**Chapter 6**) and Batman (**Section 7.4.1**) explicitly mentioned that they were annoyed with their mothers' act of monitoring of their online activities. There was no complaint from the other children who received less supportive Internet mediation strategies. As mentioned earlier, this might be because children see this as an act of protection over them. With regards to this, recall discussion in **Chapter 5** about the scenario presented via the vignette about Emily, where the majority of child participants mentioned their preferences for Emily to ask her parents about opening a Facebook account, and agreed that she should add her mother as a Facebook friend. This signifies child participants' dependency on their parents. Another reason could be that despite being monitored and restricted, children were still given a chance to use the Internet. Thus, they were accustomed to the way their parents treated them.

Overall, comparison of these 5 types of Internet parental mediation strategies suggests that active mediation is best able to balance children's safety, privacy, their opportunities to develop digital competence skills and their autonomy. As discussed in the previous section,

creating a dialogue with children regarding their online activities, as in the active mediation strategy, potentially develops trust between children and parents as well as with other 'actors' in the online environment. However, the active mediation strategy falls down on the aspect of protection, and will hence be unpalatable to many parents.

## 7.8 Chapter conclusion

This current chapter has examined children's and their parents' views of trust in the context of children's engagement with the Internet, and the association between these views. The analysis of the relationship between trust and privacy was conducted between (1) children and online strangers, and (2) children and the providers of the online platforms. The findings of this chapter support the idea that trust is linked to privacy in the sense that concepts relate to the expectations that participants had (both privacy and trust) in other people and in the technology. Indeed, several examples demonstrated how the breach of trust is akin to a breach of privacy: A breach of trust indicates the failure of the trustee (parents, strangers, and online service providers) to fulfil the expectations that the trustor (children) has. Additionally, trust and privacy brings benefits to humans, as was seen in the cases of Sarah, Lion and Minion, who through the trust granted by their parents, possessed autonomy and confidence. Additionally, Minion's father, Spy Guy's mother and Danny's mother were untroubled with the trust they gave their children.

The second major finding of this chapter is that it is important for parents to show that they trust their children, as reciprocally, children's trust of their parents, will be based on this. In addition, the Internet parental mediation strategy used does not have direct correlation with the trust parents have of their children. In other words, it does not mean that parents do not trust children, if they are being restrictive, checking and monitoring children's activities – instead it could be that the parents were trustfully vigilant.

Finally, trust is important not only in interpersonal relationships, but also for building confidence for contexts in which we do not have any prior knowledge, such as with strangers or with the providers of online platforms. Overall, these points support the earlier argument that trust is a useful lens through which to view privacy issues between children and their parents, as well as between other 'actors' in the context of children's participation on the Internet.

# Chapter 8: Conclusion

## 8.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have presented the current debates, concepts and methods used in answering the research questions, as well as gaps in previous research conducted on the topic and findings from this study. This final chapter discusses and considers these constituent parts as a whole. **Section 8.2** discusses the gaps highlighted in **Chapter 2** and **Chapter 3**, providing a brief summary of the entire investigation; this is followed by the key findings as they relate to the research questions. **Section 8.3** outlines the study's main contributions to the field, with regard to both privacy and children's Internet use. **Section 8.4** explores the implications of the findings for policy and practice. **Section 8.5** suggests points of departure for further research. **Section 8.6** concludes.

## 8.2 Summary of findings

The aim of this study was to explore how children perceive online privacy. The decision to focus on children's privacy in the online environment was due to the gaps in previous research, as highlighted in **Chapter 2** and **Chapter 3**, summarised below.

The introduction of social media, which encourages the disclosure of personal information openly in the online environment, has garnered the attention and concern of scholars, privacy advocates and the media. The concern regarding the act of openly disclosing personal information is related to the following attributes of information: (1) *persistence*, (2) *replicability*, (3) *scalability* and (4) *searchability*. Each have specific and dynamic features of information, meaning that privacy in the online environment differs from the offline environment, as information can be stored longer online where complete deletion is difficult, information is easily replicated, and often shared and accessible to the wider public.

These features of information bring benefits not only in terms of the advancement of technology for communication, business marketing, socialising, education, politics and others spheres, but have also introduced various threats to privacy, such as identity theft, hacking and data breaches. There are also various online risks that children face, including online grooming, unsafe downloads, viruses, meeting strangers or the potential situation that a child's personal information is used to bully someone (Hasebrink et al, 2009; Staksrud et al, 2013; Smahel and Wright, 2014). These risks led to various studies in the area of privacy for example, individuals' concerns about online privacy, information management and disclosure strategies on SNSs (Harris and colleagues, 2003; Moscardelli and Liston-Heyes, 2004; Gross and Acquisti, 2005; Solove, 2006; Dwyer and colleagues, 2007; Moscardelli and Divine, 2007; Marshall et al, 2008; Tufekci, 2008; Gray and Christiansen, 2009; Young and Quan-Haase, 2009; Nissenbaum, 2010; Vicknair and colleagues, 2010; boyd and Marwick, 2011). However, most of these studies were conducted quantitatively and focused on adults' and teenagers' perceptions of privacy and privacy management.

Realising the lack of studies focusing on younger children's view of privacy, three related research questions were developed:

RQ 1: What are children's views of online privacy?

RQ 2: What are parents' views of online privacy? Do their views on privacy influence how they deal with their children's privacy?

RQ 3: What are the benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parental mediation strategies for children's online privacy?

To answer these research questions, a social constructionist research paradigm was adopted, which understands the complex world of lived experiences from the point of view of those who live it - in this case the children themselves. Thus, the paradigm revolved around how children view their privacy in the online environment through their own participation in the medium (Schwandt, 2000; Guba and Lincoln, 2005). A qualitative approach was selected, as the study was exploratory in nature and sought to fill in the gaps highlighted in **Chapter 3**, given that the

survey method (quantitative) has dominated this area of research (Olafsson et al, 2013). Whilst the survey method provides important contributions in identifying variations and patterns, it is unable to provide contextual information, which leaves researchers with uncertainty regarding how and why such patterns or variations occur (Mathisen, 2016).

Fifty-seven pupils aged 9 to 11 years old, and 8 parents of those pupils, from one school in Edinburgh, participated in the data collection phase; the study used focus groups and semi-structured one-to-one interviews. Thematic analysis resulted in the identification of three interrelated themes and key findings for this study: *Online Environment as an Unsafe Place*, *What Privacy Means to Children and Parents* and *Trust*. Each of these was discussed separately in **Chapters 5, 6 and 7**, respectively. **Chapter 5** explored the context within which children engage in the online environment and how parents view their child's participation on the Internet. **Chapter 6** addressed the first and the second research questions by explaining children's and parents' views of privacy, and **Chapter 7** answered the third research question. The findings of this study are summarised below.

#### **(a) Children's expectations for trust, autonomy and privacy**

Consistent with the literature on children's use of the Internet, as discussed in **Chapter 3**, this study found that a large number of child participants engaged in various online activities and used the Internet, which indicates children's expectation that they should be able to participate on the Internet to learn new skills or enhance existing skills, socialise, communicate and look for entertainment. This relate to the rights that children ought to have, as spelled out in the UNCRC. The findings discussed in **Chapter 5** support literature by boyd (2007), Livingstone (2009) and Subrahmanyam and colleagues (2006) that children's online activities are an extension of what they do offline, concluding that children's online and offline worlds are intertwined. For example, child participants played online games that related to their hobbies, such as playing football offline and football-related games online. Their SNSs and online gaming contact lists consisted of their schoolmates or people they knew offline. In one interview, a child participant indicated that the topics discussed with friends through SNSs were the same topics of conversation they had when in the offline environment. This finding

corroborates the work by Subrahmanyam and colleagues (2006) that the use of SNSs and online games strengthens existing friendships which start in the offline environment.

**Chapter 6** discusses the first and second research questions. The first research question asked, ***What are children's views of online privacy?*** When asked about their own understandings of privacy, the child participants provided various definitions, such as 'being alone', 'personal space', 'not being seen', 'being safe' and 'keeping secret'. Based on these definitions, it is clear that most of the child participants understood privacy as the expectation of having their own physical space without being disturbed, and the ability to isolate themselves in order to relax from the stresses of daily life.

The other definition of privacy expressed by child participants was 'keeping things to yourself'. When discussing this notion of privacy, children associated it with the act of controlling their personal information in the online environment, such as only sharing personal information with someone they trust, setting their SNS accounts to 'private' and using SNS passwords. Overall, children's definitions of privacy reflect an expectation for recognition from others enabling them to exercise their autonomy. Exercising autonomy here means the ability for children to make decisions about their privacy in both environments. Children expected other people to understand that they sometimes need to be alone and have time to themselves including in the online environment.

Children in this study relate the complexity of managing privacy in the online environment with four elements: space, number of people online, familiarity and people's presence. In other words, children viewed the online environment as consisting of a 'bigger space' populated by a massive number of people, most of whom they do not know nor have they ever seen (called 'strangers'). This was the main reason why the majority of child participants in this study concluded that privacy in the online environment is more difficult to achieve compared to the offline environment (at home). They relate the ease of accessing privacy at home with the ease of getting people – who they are familiar with and can see face-to-face - to leave them



alone in their bedrooms. Child participants were of the view that it is easier to obtain privacy at home as it takes less effort than when online.

In contrast, managing privacy in the online environment requires implementing various strategies with regard to SNS settings. This relates to boyd's (2012) argument, discussed in **Chapter 2**, that managing privacy in the online environment is a challenging task as it requires individuals to have specific knowledge and skills. Individuals are required to comprehend the situation so that they can make informed decisions regarding what is to be shared and how, to whom, and when.

The data in this study show that children perceive differences in the source of privacy-threat between the two environments. In the offline environment, children were trying to manage their privacy in relation to siblings and parents. In the online environment, children recognised the source of privacy violation mostly coming from online strangers and there were small numbers of child participants who acknowledged parents as their source of privacy-threat. Parents, however, had different views about the sources of children's privacy-threat, especially in the online environment. They indicated that the peers and online strangers were the reasons for protecting their children in the online environment.

That said, understanding children's views on privacy in the online environment is not limited to how they define privacy and how they compare threats between the offline and offline environments. Nissenbaum's Contextual Integrity (CI) framework was used to assess children's understanding of whether their privacy (in the context of the online environment) had been violated or not. In this study, what constituted a privacy violation for the children was assessed based on their expectations of the various 'actors' on the Internet (parents, siblings, online platform providers and strangers). When asked in general about how they would feel if their privacy were violated, the majority of the child participants mentioned that they would feel annoyed, frustrated and sad.

Overall, although children in this study acknowledged that privacy in general is indeed important in their lives, the findings indicate that the understanding of online privacy threats and how they manage their privacy in the online environment for majority of children was not a salient issue for them. For example, most of child participants did not realise that their parents' act of monitoring and online service providers' collection of information could lead to invasion of their online privacy.

The data reveal two reasons for this. The first is due to children's dependency upon their parents to manage their privacy and use of the Internet, for example, setting up SNS privacy settings, holding passwords for their children's SNS accounts, and approving or denying their children's online contacts. Additionally, most children allow their parents to check their SNS profiles, to oversee interaction with peers and have full access to their SNS accounts. The dependency could be the result of how parents have practiced Internet mediation strategies with their children since they were small. To majority of children in this study, these actions were normal, and it seems they were accustomed to how their parents deal with their Internet usage. According to Nissenbaum's CI assessment of privacy, there is no violation of privacy if actions are within the expected norms. This could be the reason why majority of child participants did not view parents checking SNS profiles, overseeing their interaction with peers and having full access to their SNS accounts as unacceptable, although in reality these acts undermine children's privacy, according to Mathiesen (2013), Nolan and colleagues (2010), Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat (2010) and Rooney (2010). Noteworthy, there were a small number of child participants who acknowledged this as an invasion of their privacy.

The second reason was due to children's dependency on the providers of the online platforms to deliver reliable and safe SNS platforms, without realising that depending on SNSs privacy settings is not sufficient to protect their privacy in the online environment. This conclusion is based on studies by Stutzman and colleagues (2012), boyd (2014), Marwick and boyd (2014) and Li and colleagues (2015), which have shown that the reliability of pre-set SNS privacy functions is dubious. Privacy functions constantly change without informing users, confusing

and complicating features and demanding certain digital skills and knowledge in order to manage the complexities of the settings.

Analysis of the data led to findings around the theme of 'trust', which was discussed in **Chapter 7**. As mentioned above, the majority of child participants allowed their parents to know about their online activities, thus supporting arguments by Frye and Dornisch (2010), Mesch (2012) and Taddei and Contena (2013) that a trustor's (children) trust of a trustee (parents) makes them more comfortable sharing or disclosing personal information, in this case about their online activities. This indicates trustors' willingness to negotiate with his/her privacy, as they trust their trustee to keep the information private. The data show that almost all parents interviewed trusted their children, although the trust level might not be the same. For example, whilst Lion's and Minion's fathers had full trust towards his children, data indicated that Becca's and Spy Guy's mothers are vigilant about their children's activities, suggesting a lower level of trust.

The data also show that the Internet parental mediation strategy does not correlate with the trust that parents have of their children. Minion's father showed that, despite his restrictive mediation about his daughter's online participation, he still trusted her fully. This explains why it is important for parents to trust their children and to show that trust: children's trust of their parents will be reciprocal.

The subsequent finding relates to children's trust of strangers. The data in this study support arguments by Cernikova and colleagues (2016), that children benefitted from their interactions with strangers they met while engaged with online gaming and SNSs. Finally, the last finding relates to children's trust of the online service providers. The data show child participants' high levels of trust of the providers not to disclose their information to others, particularly strangers.

Overall, these findings indicate that trust and privacy are interrelated, in the sense that these two concepts relate to the expectations that participants have of other people and technology.

Therefore, the relationship between privacy and the bond of trust suggests that privacy invasion is akin to the act of breaching trust.

#### **(b) Parents' views of privacy and Internet parental mediation strategies**

The second research question for this study asked, '*What are parents' views of online privacy? Do their views of privacy influence how they deal with their children's privacy?*'. I acknowledged the limitation that this study had in terms of the small number of parent participants, thus special consideration was given to how the findings fits with broader literature. Despite this limitation, parent participants' response parallel with those in other studies as discussed below.

A similar approach was used in obtaining parents' insights about how they react to their children's privacy, i.e. through comparison between the two spheres of privacy environments. The data show that the way parents react to children's privacy differs between these two environments. Parents tend to be more tolerant and understanding of children needing their own physical space at home, and more vigilant when it comes to their children's online engagement. This sometimes leads to the use of restrictive, monitoring and technical restrictive Internet parenting mediation strategies.

**Chapter 5** showed that the majority of the parents in this study used less supportive Internet parental mediation strategies (restrictive, monitoring and technical monitoring strategies). The restrictive mediation is a common Internet parental strategy used by parents with children older than 8 years old was highlighted by Livingstone and Haddon (2009), Nikken and Jansz (2013) and Nikken and Schols (2015). An active mediation strategy (fully supportive) was used by only one parent (Lion's parents) in this study. The positive impacts in terms of children's creativity, expanding networks of contacts and development of trust and reciprocity were evident for his child.

The data also indicate that parents' perceptions played an important role in shaping their children's views about the Internet. This finding supports previous research by Livingstone and Helsper (2008), Lwin and colleagues (2008), Ktoridou and colleagues (2012), boyd and Hargittai (2011) and Sorbring (2012). Along with parents' own perceptions, additional influencing factors were a negative perception about the Internet as posed by the media itself, parents' perceptions of their children's abilities and parents' friends' experiences.

The notion of 'online stranger-danger' was evident in this study. **Chapter 5** discussed the findings in this study with regard to children's and parents' views about the Internet as an unsafe place due the potential harm caused by 'strangers' in the online environment. As discussed in **Chapter 7**, children's communication with online strangers might be beneficial. Children exposed to information and opportunities learn to develop trusts of strangers. This is important because meeting strangers is a natural part of social processes, and it is almost impossible to avoid them both online and offline.

However, not all parents in this study realised these benefits; Lion's father and Becca's mother were exceptions, although Becca's mother explicitly mentioned that she is restrictive in terms of her children's Internet usage. This raises an interesting question about whether is it beneficial for children to be told consistently that all 'strangers' on the Internet are dangerous and, therefore, cannot be trusted. Whilst not denying that there are 'strangers' in the online environment who intend to cause harm to children, for example through cyberbullying or online grooming, encouraging children to label every stranger as dangerous is not beneficial (Dedkova, 2015).

Finally, the third research question considered: ***'What are the benefits and disadvantages of different Internet parenting mediation strategies for children's online privacy?'*** As discussed in **Chapter 7**, I related this question to the strengths and weaknesses of the five Internet parenting mediation strategies (i.e. active, active co-use, restrictive, monitoring and technical monitoring) by comparing them in terms of children's privacy, autonomy and the

three provisions of children's rights: protection, provision and participation.

As mentioned earlier, although the majority of the children in this study did not view their parents checking SNS profiles, overseeing their interactions with peers and having full access to their SNS accounts as unacceptable, some of the children disagreed with these actions. **Chapter 6** and **Chapter 7** discussed about Cristiano's, Neymar's and Batman's frustration about the act of Internet parental monitoring, which according to them is clearly in violation of children's privacy. Cristiano's, Neymar's and Batman's feeling of discomfort at being monitored is an indication that their privacy was violated (Solove, 2006, Selbst, 2013). Recall, as mentioned by Neymar in **Chapter 6**, that the continuous act of monitoring could jeopardise child-parent relationships. This finding supports previous studies by Mathiesen (2013), Nolan and colleagues (2010), Shmueli and Blecher-Prigat (2010) and Rooney (2010), that monitoring children's online activities clearly invades their privacy.

Moving on to the aspect of autonomy, the restrictive, monitoring and technical monitoring strategies provide children with a limited ability to practice online autonomy. Children under these types of Internet parenting mediation strategies are only capable of applying their autonomy within the boundaries set by their parents. Children with restrictive parents may not have the autonomy to decide when they can use the Internet or what sites they can access unlike children who receive fully supportive Internet parental mediation strategies. These children may only be able to make their own decisions about their online activities within the parameters set by their parents. The benefits of using fully supportive Internet parental mediation strategies to children in terms of increasing their autonomy can be seen in the cases of Lion and Sarah. As discussed in **Chapters 5, 6 and 7**, both Lion and Sarah benefitted from having the opportunity to develop digital competence skills and autonomy. This also allowed symmetrical trust to develop between the parents and their children, thus supporting intimate family relationships. The importance of giving children autonomy while they engage with the Internet is highlighted by Howe and Strauss (2007), as it encourages children to develop the intrinsic motivation to develop critical thinking skills and take ownership of their life skills and learning.

Allowing online participation means giving children opportunities to enhance connections and networking opportunities – such as peer-to-peer connections for sharing and collaborative work – allowing them to develop their own voices and expressions (Livingstone, 2014). Provision means giving children opportunities to increase their creativity, exploration and expression, the ability to expand their digital and information skills, and literacy and access to learning resources (Livingstone, 2014). This indicates that children's online participation and provision is related to the autonomy that children have. The more children are given opportunities to use the Internet along with the support, autonomy, and trust given by their parents, the more benefits they will experience in terms of online participation and provision. In other words, limiting and restricting their online participation and provision through restrictive, monitoring and technical restriction will undermine children's autonomy, online participation and online provision.

Despite its limitation in supporting children's autonomy, online participation and online provision, these three Internet parental strategies prevail in terms of children's online protection. This was the main reason why parent participants in this study preferred these type of strategies as compared to the active and active co-use strategies. As highlighted by Richie's mother, Christiano's mother, Becca's mother and Spy Guy's mother in **Chapter 5**, concerns about their child's maturity and ability to cope with the experience of being exposed to violent/gory images and/or distressing content, as well as encountering potentially dangerous people, were why they used such strategies.

Overall, comparison of these five types of Internet parental mediation strategies suggest that active mediation is best able to balance children's safety, privacy, their opportunities to develop digital competency skills and their autonomy. This is a key contribution of this study. Answering this third research question contributes to the literature in the area of Internet parental mediation, as discussed in the next section.

Together, this section recapitulates the research findings discussed in **Chapters 5 to 7** in terms of the three research questions. Next, we will look at the implications of the findings for debates in the literature, policy, and practice and future research.



### **8.3 Implications for debates in the literature and policy and practices**

This study and its findings have contributed to the literature as well as policy and practices. This discussion is divided into four subsections: The first subsection discusses how this study contributes to children's rights to privacy and trust; the second subsection discusses contributions to Internet parenting mediation literature. The third subsection discusses this study's contribution to the children's rights agenda in the online environment. Finally, the last subsection offers a discussion of the study's contribution in other related areas.

#### **8.3.1 Contribution in the area of children's privacy and trust**

This study has contributed to the discussion on children's privacy rights by providing more detailed insight into how privacy in the context of children's engagement in the online environment can be discussed. In doing so, this study acknowledges the challenges in managing privacy in the online environment. Empirical studies on the topic of children's privacy and their relationships with their parents, online strangers, and the online service providers are sparse and, notably, no study has yet assessed children's expectations of online privacy using Nissenbaum's Contextual Integrity (CI) framework. Findings in **Chapter 6** highlighted that despite various definitions child participants gave about the meaning of privacy regardless of the environment, the underlying implication related to their having control or having autonomy. Moreover, child participants' understanding about the sources of privacy-threat online was very limited: they did not see peers, family or the third party online service providers as potential threats.

As such, this study suggests that future policy and practice should give more focus to providing children with knowledge about privacy. This could include, for example, children understanding why they need to concern themselves with their privacy both in offline and online environments, how to manage their privacy autonomously, understanding the privacy policies and skills they need to be able to make informed decisions regarding what is to be shared, and how, to whom and when to share personal information.

As mentioned earlier, the discussion of children's privacy and children's relationships with their parents, online strangers and online service providers has led to a discussion regarding trust. The literature (Kerr and colleagues (1999), Nishikawa and Stolle (2011), Demant and Ravn (2013) and Newell and colleagues (2015)) indicates that trust is often discussed in child-parent relationships. However, in the context of privacy and children's online engagement, dialogue about trust and child-parent relationship, privacy, trust and child-online service provider relationships is scarce.

The study has showed that regardless of what the Internet parental mediation used, most children still fully trust their parents. The findings indicate that parents who have negative views of the Internet will have issues trusting the Internet and online strangers, thus leading them to be vigilant about their children's online participation. This subsequently will have an effect on their children's view and trust of the other actors of the Internet based on what their parents told them about Internet. Parents who did not trust the Internet and online strangers tended to use the less autonomy-supporting mediation strategies. Applying these types of mediation strategies will not benefit children in the long term in terms of their development of trust of Internet and online strangers, thereby limiting their autonomy, limits children's and online participation and provision. Some strategy like monitoring will objectively invade children's privacy, and potentially condition them to expect that such intrusions are acceptable to guarantee their online safety. This may have long term societal implications.

This study has shown that trust plays an important role in reducing parents' concern about their children's online participation. Having knowledge about the trustee will increase the trustor's trust of the trustee. As such, in addition to making parents aware of current social media, online games and other technologies that children participate in, the content of such awareness should include the significance of trust and other parenting elements to support children's online participation. This will serve to both strengthen child-parent relationships and inform parents of the importance of educating their children about trusting other actors on the Internet.

**Chapter 7** showed how children benefit by trusting strangers in the online environment. Whilst large media reports portray the presence of online strangers in a negative way, the findings of this study add to existing literature by Cernikova and colleagues (2016) and Dedkova (2015) that children's interactions with 'these unknown types of people' on the Internet should also be seen in a positive context: as opportunities for them to expand their networks, learn from other people's skills and experiences and at the same time increase their sense of autonomy.

Another significant finding highlighted in **Chapter 7** relates to the trust that some children have toward online service providers to continuously provide reliable and trusted SNS platforms. Recall discussion in **Chapter 6**: children acknowledged that managing privacy in the online environment is complicated and much effort is needed to maintain privacy in that environment. Thus, this study has implications for the online service providers to enhance privacy features and provide an online environment in line with what children expect. This was highlighted in the 5Rights Youth Commission's Final Report to the Scottish Government: software developers and educational technology companies should provide not only a safer environment, but should also encourage the recognition of children's rights in the services provided by them (Scottish Government, 2017).

Overall, the above discussion are as follows: trust is indeed beneficial in overcoming the privacy issue that exists between children and parents and also the other actors of the Internet in the context of children's online engagement.

### **8.3.2 Contribution in the area of Internet parental mediation**

**Chapter 3** showed that there was a great deal of previous research in the area of Internet parental mediation. The majority of these studies focused on the effects of the five strategies on children's online protection, opportunities, privacy and autonomy. However, the effects of the Internet parental mediation strategies on children in these areas often were discussed separately. This is one of the contributions of this study: consolidating the discussion of the strengths and deficiencies of each of the five strategies on children in the abovementioned areas. This study contributes to children's insights about parental mediation, which was also

done by Haddon (2015) and Iglesias and Larranaga (2015). This was done by framing questions in order to understand how children view their online privacy in relation to their parents.

In addition, **Chapter 3** highlighted that there remains a lack of recognition of children's rights in the online environment, mainly in participation and provision rights (Livingstone et al, 2015; Livingstone, 2014; Livingstone, 2014a). This study has filled in this gap by combining the discussion of elements of children's rights i.e. protection, provision and participation, privacy and autonomy. This was done by comparing the benefits and disadvantages between the five Internet parenting mediation strategies in terms of the above elements.

Findings from **Chapter 5** showed that most parents in this study used less supportive Internet parenting mediation strategy. Among the reasons given by parents were the perceived vulnerability of their children if exposed to challenges of the online environment. In other words, it is related to their children's 'protection'. Moreover, as shown by Lion's and Spy Guy's situations, parents' knowledge of the Internet and their view about of its potential for children's development has an effect on their Internet mediation strategy. Again, parents' knowledge of the Internet is the core issue, and any strategies with regards to increasing children's online participation should take into account efforts to also help parents to increase their knowledge about the Internet, thus preparing them to mediate their children's online usage actively. This study suggests that the Internet parental mediation strategies should be seen as a continuum, from the less autonomy-supported strategies to autonomy-supportive strategies; the active mediation strategy should be seen as an ongoing process that will keep changing as children get older and technologies changed.

As discussed in **Chapter 7**, active mediation is seen as the ideal Internet mediation strategy, as it is able to balance children's privacy, supports development of children's trust of the other actors on the Internet and fully supports children's development of autonomy in terms of making decisions about their participation and provision in the online environment. The

process of guiding children through the online environment is similar to teaching children how to cross the road; parents hold their child's hand and explain to them what to look out for ensure they are confident that their child will be able to do it themselves independently and safely. However, the study also recognises that this strategy may not be appropriate for very young children and may not be palatable to many parents until they are comfortable that their children have developed at least some of the necessary skills to navigate the online environment safely on their own.

### **8.3.3 Contribution in the area of children's rights agenda**

As discussed in **Chapter 5**, the topic of Internet safety (the protection agenda) at school was the only one highlighted during Internet Safety Day, which was conducted once a year. There was a clear lack of focus being given to children's online provision and participation agenda at school. Similar findings were raised in the 5Rights Youth Commission's Final Report to the Scottish Government that there is still not enough focus within schools on the topic of Internet safety, cyber resilience and digital literacy. There is also a general lack of knowledge among the teaching staff to support children with digital issues (Scottish Government, 2017). As such, this study supports future policy related to children's online usage that emphasises the protection, participation and provision agendas equally.

Additionally, data from the current study have indicated that schools could play a role not only in educating children, but also in educating parents. Danny's mother pointed out how the parental Internet Safety awareness talk that was organised by the school changed her view about her son's online gaming activities (see **Chapter 5**). However, based on responses from some of the parent participants in this study, the school's efforts in providing Internet safety lessons to children and parents is still insufficient in terms of the frequency and content of awareness. Based on observation, the topic of Internet safety awareness was only discussed once per year with parents, in conjunction with Internet Safety Day (celebrated in February every year).

This finding has implications for practitioners of parenting support and other professionals. It would be beneficial if schools collaborated with Education Scotland and the UK Council for Children's Internet Safety (UKCCIS). This includes collaboration with the Internet safety and parenting support professionals and third sector organisations, for example YouthLink Scotland, Young Scot, *respectme* and Police Scotland. These parties could reach out to parents and carers to provide education and awareness about the importance of equipping themselves with information about Internet skills and safety in order to support their children in the online environment on a regular basis. Increased parental awareness could include information regarding changes to technology. For example, explanations about current social media, online games or other technologies that most children interact with could be highly beneficial. Alternatively, the school could include parental participation in their ICT syllabus, for example through monthly school-family projects.

As mentioned earlier, focus should also be given to balancing the other two components of the children's rights agenda, i.e. provision and participation. Parents should be aware about the importance of children's online provision and participation, so that they will not only focus on the online protection aspect and overlook the benefits that online provision and participation have for children. For example, Lion and Sarah, who have parents who understand the benefits of their children's online participation, experience greater benefits than the other children in this study. Not only did it strengthen parent-child trust relationships, such trust encouraged creative and critical thinking and autonomy development, as they were allowed to make their own decisions about their online participation. They thus expanded their social networks and increased their knowledge and learning regarding trusting other people.

#### **8.3.4 Other contributions**

This study also contributed to the literature in terms of methodology. As highlighted in **Chapter 3**, the survey method (quantitative) has dominated this area of research (Olafsson et al, 2013); moreover, past research has focused on adults and young adults. The lack of qualitative

studies in the area of privacy focusing on children below 13 years of age has resulted in a lack of detailed contextual understanding of how children in this age range view their online privacy.

This study also contributes to discussions related to the implementation of parental consent to process child's personal data, which is spelled out in Article 8 of the new General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). As argued by Jasmontaite and colleagues (2014), the proposed Article 8 of GDPR imposes a threat to children's right to privacy. Parents may use Article 8 to justify accessing their child's SNSs or games spaces, citing the need to make an adequate assessment for giving or withholding their consent. Recall that **Chapters 6 and 7** highlighted the implication of a lack of privacy for children in terms of the development of child-parent trust relationships and children's autonomy. The concepts of privacy, trust and autonomy are interrelated, dependent and constantly shape each other. Parents' inability to respect children's privacy is akin to the act of breaching trust, as both of privacy and trust is rooted in expectation (Nissenbaum, 2010; Rosseau et al, 1998; Rotenberg et al, 2010). The inability of parents to honour their children's privacy and uphold solid trust indicates children's inability to be autonomous.

The next section will discuss how this thesis could be enhanced.

## 8.4 Future research

As discussed in **Chapter 4**, there were only 8 parents who were willing to be interviewed during the fieldwork. This was one of the challenges in this study, i.e. limited participation from parents. It is suggested that future study could focus on finding more evidence about the effect of different parental mediation strategies on children by having a substantial number of parents' insights. Greater participation from parents would allow differentiation between how fathers and mothers react to their children's participation on SNSs and how they deal with their children's privacy.

The findings of the current study indicate that more than half of the child participants who were from Primary 6 and Primary 7 (age 9 to 11) were of the view that 'being supervised by their parents' in the online environment was acceptable and that there was no violation of privacy for that practise. A longitudinal study with could be performed with the same children or with slightly older children, for example between the ages of 12 and 14 (secondary school pupils), to consider differences between how these two age groups view and manage privacy in relation to actors on the Internet and their parents. This older age range would allow us to see at what point, if at all, children may change their views about less autonomy-supported parental mediation strategies.

James and Prout (1997) argue that children's expectations, their degree of independence and parents' expectations of them are different in different cultures. The same goes for gaining autonomy, trust and privacy expectations - different cultures may have different sets of expectations (Newell, 1998; Nolan et al, 2009; Newell et al, 2015). As such, a cross-cultural comparison study could also be conducted to see how young children in different cultures define and deal with privacy in both the offline and online environments. Conducting studies on a cross-cultural level allows for the discovery of commonalities and differences between cultures.



**Chapters 6** and **7** reveal discussion of the privacy relationship between children and their parents, compared to other actors on the Internet. Whilst there was a lack of data with regard to children's online privacy with siblings and peers, the data did reveal limited information about online strangers and online service providers. Similarly, there was a limited data and discussion in this thesis with regards to children's trust of the other actors on the Internet. The importance of trust in the online environment was highlighted by the Pew Research Centre about the fate of online trust in the next decade and whether it will continue to be strengthened or will start to diminish (Pew Research Center, 2017). This proves the significance of the need to conduct more studies on children's trust toward actors on the Internet. One possible area that could be looked into is children's trust development with online strangers that they meet through online games. As indicated in **Chapter 5**, the number of children participating in online games was almost double compared to the number of visiting SNSs, which indicates children's preferences for online games to other types of social media.

Additionally, future study could focus on the privacy and trust relationships between children and the other actors on the Internet. With regard to this, different research methods, such as the observation method, could be used in order to observe how children communicate with these actors and how the trust relationship is built. However, care has to be taken for this type of observation, as it might involve privacy violation; consent has to be sought from children and their parents to conduct such a study.

The previous section highlighted that one of the contributions of this study is the consolidation of the discussion of the strengths and deficiencies of each of the five Internet parental mediation strategies on children regarding their privacy, autonomy, and the three provisions of children's rights: protection, provision and participation. Future studies could focus on obtaining more evidence on the relationship of the Internet parental mediation strategies to the children's rights provision and participation agenda.

Finally, the effort to uphold digital education for children has been started in Scotland. This was evident through the effort to make the topic on Technologies part of the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence (Education Scotland, 2013). Future study could be conducted to understand the effectiveness of the digital topics covered in class. This includes how various Internet skills are developed and used by children. The Internet skills taught could include operational skills, information navigation skills, social skills, creative skills and mobile skills, as proposed by Van Deursen and colleagues (2015).

## 8.5 Concluding reflections

This doctoral thesis has explored how privacy is viewed and negotiated in children's participation in the online environment. Its key contribution was to show that children value their privacy in both the offline and online environments. Privacy is valuable as it relates to the bonds of trust and feelings of autonomy – two important elements that are needed for children's development. This study acknowledges that managing privacy in the online environment is complex and that support from parents, school and practitioners to equip children with skills for managing these complexities is crucial in supporting children's online participation.

Overall, conducting this study has changed my view about the importance of respecting my children's views. I became more aware that my children also deserve their own privacy, not only in the offline environment, but also while online. Finally, the topic of trust has major implications for me. I learnt that being trustworthy is important, as to strengthen my relationship not only with my children, but also with the people around me.

## References

- Aarsand, P. (2016) Children's media practices: challenges and dilemmas for the qualitative researcher. *Journal of Children and Media*, 10(1), pp.90–97.
- Abbott-Chapman, J., and Robertson, M. (2001) Youth, leisure and home: Space, place and identity. *Loisir et Societe*, 24(2), pp. 485–504.
- Auerbach, C., F., and Silverstein, L. (2003) *Qualitative data: an introduction to coding and analysis*. New York: New York University Press.
- Alderson, P. (2004) Ethics. In: Fraser, S., Lewis, V., Ding, S., Kellett, M. & Robinson, C. (Eds.) *Doing Research with Children and Young People* London: Sage.
- Alderson, P. and Morrow, V. (2011) *The Ethics of Research with Children and Young People*, (2nd ed.), London: SAGE Publications.
- Altman, I. (1975) *The environment and social behavior: privacy, personal space, territory, crowding*. Brooks/Cole, Monterey.
- Alsenoy, B. Van, Piessens, F., Diaz, C., and Preneel, B. (2015) *Facebook Tracking Through Social Plug-ins Technical report prepared for the Belgian Privacy Commission*.
- Allen, L. (1988) Uneasy Access: Privacy for Women in a Free Society. Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, 101, pp. 709–711.
- Andronikidis, A. I. and Lambrianidou, M. (2010) Children's Understanding of Television Advertising: A Grounded Theory Approach. *Psychology and Marketing*, 27(4), pp. 299–322.
- Alge, B. J., Ballinger, G. A., Tangirala, S., and Oakley, J. L. (2006) Information Privacy in Organizations: Empowering Creative and Extrarole Performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(1), pp.221–232.
- Alsenoy, B. Van, Piessens, F., Diaz, C., and Preneel, B. (2015) *Facebook Tracking Through Social Plug-ins Technical report prepared for the Belgian Privacy Commission*.
- Austin, M., and Reed, M. (1999) Targeting children online: Internet advertising ethics issues. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 16(6), pp.590–602.
- Barbovschi, M., Macháčková, H., and Ólafsson, K. (2015) Underage Use of Social Network Sites: It's About Friends. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 18(6), pp.328–332.
- Barnes, S. B. (2006) A privacy paradox: Social networking in the United States [WWW]. Available from: <http://journals.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/1394> [Accessed April 1, 2016].
- Bartoli, E. (2009) Children's Data Protection vs. Marketing Companies. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology*, 23(1-2), pp. 35–45.

- Baroness, B. K. (2015) *iRights - Enabling Children and the digital world. Creatively, Knowledgeably and Fearlessly.*
- Bauman, S. and Tanisha, T. (2009) Web Sites for Young Children: Gateway to Online Social Networking? *Professional School Counseling*, 13(1).
- Bowtell, E. C., Sawyer, S. M., Aroni, R. a., Green, J. B., and Duncan, R. E. (2013) "Should I Send a Condolence Card?": Promoting Emotional Safety in Qualitative Health Research Through Reflexivity and Ethical Mindfulness. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 19(9), pp.652–663.
- Birnhack, M. D. (2011) A Quest for A Theory of Privacy: Context and Control. *Jurimetrics*, 51(4), pp. 1–36.
- Bonda, N, (2014). Using the case study method to research student improvement in one school. *SAGE Research Methods Cases.*
- Bonneau, J., and Preibusch, S. (2010) The Privacy Jungle: On the Market for Data Protection in Social Networks. In Moore, T., Pym, D., & Ioannidis, C. (Eds.) *Economics of Information Security and Privacy*. Boston, MA: Springer US.
- boyd, D. M. (2007) Why youth (heart) Social network sites: the role of networked publics in teenage social life. *MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Learning – Youth, Identity, and Digital Media*, 16, 119–142.
- boyd, D. (2008) Facebook's Privacy Trainwreck. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 14(1), pp.13–20.
- boyd, D. (2010) Social network sites as networked publics: affordances, dynamics, and implications. In: Papacharissi, Z. (Eds.) *A networked self: Identity, community, and culture on social network sites*. Routledge, New York, p. 39.
- boyd, D. (2012) Networked Privacy. *Surveillance & Society*, 10(3/4), pp.348-350
- boyd, D. (2014) It's Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens. *It's Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens*
- boyd, D. and Ellison, N. B. (2007) Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), pp. 210–230.
- boyd, D. M., and Hargittai, E. (2010) Facebook Privacy Settings: Who Cares? *First Monday*, 15(8), pp.1–24.
- boyd, D., Hargittai, E., Schultz, J. and Palfrey, J. (2011) Why parents help their children lie to Facebook about age: Unintended consequences of the 'Children's Online Privacy Protection Act' *First Monday*, 15(8), pp.1–24.
- boyd, D. and Hargittai, E. (2013) Connected and concerned: Variation in parents' online safety concerns. *Policy & Internet*, 5(3), pp. 245–269.
- boyd, D., Hargittai, E., Schultz, J. and Palfrey, J. (2011) Why Parents Help Their Children Lie to Facebook About Age: Unintended Consequences of the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act '. *First Monday*, 16(11).
- boyd, D. and Marwick, A. E. (2011) Social Privacy in Networked Publics: Teens' Attitudes,

Practices, and Strategies. *A Decade in Internet Time: Symposium on the Dynamics of the Internet and Society*.

Boyden, J. and Ennew, J. (1997) *Children in focus. A manual for participatory research with children*. Stockholm, Sweden: Radda Barnen.

Brautigam, T., and Miettinen, S. (2016) *Data Protection, Privacy and European Regulation in the Digital Age*.

Braun, V., and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), pp.77–101.

Bray, L. (2007) Developing an activity to aid informed assent when interviewing children and young people. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 12(5), pp. 447–457.

Brittain, S. (2015) The Relationship Between the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights: An Originalist Analysis. *European Constitutional Law Review*, 11(3), pp. 482–511.

Brown, D. H., and Pecora, N. (2014) Online Data Privacy as a Children's Media Right: Toward Global Policy Principles. *Journal of Children and Media*, 8(2), pp. 201–207.

Broström, S. (2012) Children's participation in research. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 20(3), pp. 257–269.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*, 4th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burgoon, J. K. (1982) Privacy and Communication. In Burgoon, M. (Ed.) *Communication Yearbook 6*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Burgoon, J. K., Parrott, R., Le Poire, B. A., Kelly, D. L., Walther, J. B., and Perry, D. (1989) Maintaining and Restoring Privacy Through Communication in Different Types of Relationships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 6, pp.131–158.

Bushin, N. (2007) Interviewing with Children in their Homes: Putting Ethical Principles into Practice and Developing Flexible Techniques. *Children's Geographies*, 5(3), pp. 235–251.

Buzan, T. and Buzan, B. (1993) *The mind map book: How to use radiant thinking and maximize your brain's untapped potential*. New York, Penguin Group.

Byrne, J., and Burton, P. (2017) Children as Internet users: how can evidence better inform policy debate? *Journal of Cyber Policy*, 0(0), pp.1–14.

Cabinet Cilex. (2015) *Regulation (EU) No XXX/2016 of The European Parliament and of the Council on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data (General Data Protection Regulation)* [WWW]. Accessed from: [http://www.cabinet-cilex.com/uploads/GDPR Final outcome - Trilogue - compact version with table of contents 1.1.pdf](http://www.cabinet-cilex.com/uploads/GDPR%20Final%20outcome%20-%20Trilogue%20-%20compact%20version%20with%20table%20of%20contents%201.1.pdf) [Accessed April 1, 2016].

Calo, M. R. (2011) The Boundaries of Privacy Harm. *Indiana Law Journal*, 86(3), pp.1131–1162.

Castle, K. (2004) The meaning of autonomy in early childhood teacher education. *Journal of Early Childhood Teacher Education*, 25(1), pp.3–10.

- Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2013) *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. London: Sage.
- Claire, M., and Serewicz, M. (2013). Introducing the Special Issue on Communication Privacy Management Theory and Family Privacy Regulation. *Journal of Family Communication*, 13(November 2014), pp.2–5.
- CEO Coalition (2012) CEO Coalition for a better internet for kids [WWW]. Available from: <https://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/EUKidsOnline/EU%20Kids%20III/Project%20resources/Coalitionmeetingnote.pdf> [Accessed April 1, 2016].
- CEOP (2010) Children Exploitation and Online Protection Centre [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm77/7785/7785.pdf> [Accessed April 1, 2016].
- Cernikova, M., Dedkova, L., and Smahel, D. (2016) Youth interaction with online strangers: experiences and reactions to unknown people on the Internet. *Information, Communication & Society*, 0(0), pp.1–17.
- Coles-Kemp, L. (2009) The changing shape of privacy and consent. *Information Security Technical Report*, 14(3), pp.111–112.
- Coopamootoo, P. L., and Ashenden, D. (2011) Designing usable online privacy mechanisms: What can we learn from real world behaviour? *IFIP Advances in Information and Communication Technology*, 352 AICT, pp.311–324.
- Christiansen, L. (2011) Personal privacy and Internet marketing: An impossible conflict or a marriage made in heaven? *Business Horizons*, 54(6), pp. 509–514.
- Christensen, P. H. (2004) Children's Participation in Ethnographic Research: Issues of Power and Representation. *Children & Society*, 18, pp.165–176.
- Christensen, P. and Prout, A. (2002) Working with Ethical Symmetry in Social Research with Children. *Childhood*, 9(4), pp. 477–497.
- Chernyavskaya, A. (2015) *Evidence-based policymaking for provision of children's rights online* [WWW]. Accessed from: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mediapolicyproject/2015/06/24/evidence-based-policymaking-for-provision-of-childrens-rights-online/> [Accessed April 1, 2016].
- Cipollone, M., Schifter, C. C., and Moffat, R. A. (2014) Minecraft as a Creative Tool: *International Journal of Game-Based Learning*, 4(2), pp.1–14.
- Clark, L. S. (2011) Parental Mediation Theory for the Digital Age. *Communication Theory*, 21(4), pp. 323–343.
- Cocks, A. J. (2006) The Ethical Maze: Finding an inclusive path towards gaining children's agreement to research participation. *Childhood*, 13(2), pp. 247–266.
- Cohen, J. E. (2000) What Privacy is For?. *Harvard Law Review*, 21(2008).

- Colucci, E. (2007) "Focus groups can be fun": the use of activity-oriented questions in focus group discussions. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(10), pp. 1422–1433.
- Council of Europe. (1950) *European Convention on Human Rights* [WWW]. Retrieved from [https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/sites/digital-agenda/files/Convention\\_ENG.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/sites/digital-agenda/files/Convention_ENG.pdf) [Accessed April 1, 2016].
- Committee on the Rights of the Children. (2014) *Report of the 2014 Day of General Discussion "Digital Media and Children's Rights."*
- ConnectSafety (2014) [WWW]. A parents guide to Instagram [WWW]. Available from <http://www.connectsafely.org/a-parents-guide-to-instagram/> [Accessed November 9, 2015]
- Darbyshire, P. (2005) Multiple methods in qualitative research with children: more insight or just more? *Qualitative Research*, 5(4), pp.417–436.
- Darling, N., and Dowdy, B. (2010) Trust, but verify: Knowledge, disclosure, and mothers' beliefs about adolescents' trustworthiness. In Rotenberg, K. J. (Eds.), *Interpersonal Trust During Childhood and Adolescent* (pp. 223-242). Cambridge University Press.
- Davey, C., Dwyer, C. and McAlister, S. (2009) 'Case Study: Researching Children's Rights in the Context of Northern Ireland' in Tisdall, K., Davis, J. and Gallagher, M. (Eds.) *Researching with Children and Young People: Research Design, Methods and Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Davis, J. L., and Jurgenson, N. (2014) Context collapse: theorizing context collusions and collisions. *Information, Communication & Society*, 17(4), pp.1–10.
- Debatin, B., Lovejoy, J. P., Horn, A.-K., and Hughes, B. N. (2009) Facebook and Online Privacy: Attitudes, Behaviors, and Unintended Consequences. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 15(1), pp. 83–108.
- Dedkova, L. (2015) Stranger Is Not Always Danger: The Myth and Reality of Meetings with Online Strangers. In P. Lorentz, D. Smahel, M. Metykova, and M. Wright, F (Eds.), *Living in the Digital Age: Self-Presentation, Networking, Playing, and Participating in Politics* (pp. 1–222).
- Deci, E. L. and Ryan, R. M. (2008) Facilitating optimal motivation and psychological wellbeing across life's domains. *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie canadienne*, 49(1), pp. 14–23.
- Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (1998) *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. London: Sage.
- De Schutter, B. (2010) Never Too Old to Play: The Appeal of Digital Games to an Older Audience. *Games and Culture*, 6(2), pp. 155–170.
- Derbyshire, D. (2009) Social websites harm children's brains: Chilling warning to parents from top neurologist [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1153583/Social-websites-harm-childrens-brains-Chilling-warning-parents-neuroscientist.html>
- Demant, J., and Ravn, S. H. (2013) Communicating Trust Between Parents and Their Children: A Case Study of Adolescents' Alcohol Use in Denmark. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 28(3), pp. 325–347.



- Dias, P., Brito, R., Ribbens, W., Daniela, L., Rubene, Z., Dreier, M., ... Chaudron, S. (2016) The role of parents in the engagement of young children with digital technologies: Exploring tensions between rights of access and protection, from 'Gatekeepers to 'Scaffolders. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 6(4), pp. 414–427.
- Digital Learning Team (2013a) *Curriculum Coverage* [WWW]. Available from: <http://digitallearningteam.org/digital-safety/digital-safety-guidelines/curriculum-coverage/> [Accessed November 16, 2013].
- Dillon, T. W., Hamilton, A. J., Thomas, D. S., and Usry, M. L. (2008) The Importance of Communicating Workplace Privacy Policies. *Employ Respons Rights J*, 20, pp. 119–139.
- DiMicco, J., Millen, D. R., Geyer, W., Dugan, C., Brownholtz, B. and Muller, M. (2008) Motivations for social networking at work. In *Proceedings of the 2008 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work*, pp. 711-720. ACM.
- Duerager, A., and Livingstone, S. (2012) *How can parents support children's internet safety? EU Kids online*. London, UK.
- Donkin, A., Holloway, D., and Green, L. (2015) *Towards an online ethnography of children's virtual worlds: A review of current literature and research methods*. Paper presented at the Australian and New Zealand Communication Association conference: Rethinking communication, space and identity, Queenstown, New Zealand.
- Dohmen, T., Falk, a., Huffman, D., and Sunde, U. (2011) The Intergenerational Transmission of Risk and Trust Attitudes. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 79(2), pp.645–677.
- Doody, O. and Noonan, M. (2013) Preparing and conducting interviews to collect data. *Nurse Researcher*, 20(5), pp. 28–32.
- Dowd, M. (2011) Contextualised Concerns: The Online Privacy Attitudes of Young Adults. In G. Z. Simone Fischer-Hübner, Penny Duquenoy, Marit Hansen, Ronald Leenes (Eds.), *Privacy and Identity Management for Life* (pp. 78–89).
- Dowty, T. (2008). Pixie-dust and Privacy: What's Happening to Children's Rights in England? *Children & Society*, 22, pp.393–399.
- Dwyer, C., Hiltz, S. R., and Passerini, K. (2007) Trust and privacy concern within social networking sites: A comparison of Facebook and MySpace. *Americas Conference on Information Systems (AMCIS)*, 123, pp. 339–350.
- Edinburgh Digital Learning Team (2014) Free Sumdog Training for Edinburgh Schools [WWW]. Available from <http://digitallearningteam.org/2014/03/12/free-sumdog-training-for-edinburgh-schools/> [Accessed November 9, 2015]
- Education Scotland (2013) *Information for Practitioners* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/usingglowandict/internetsafety/practitioners.asp> [Accessed November 16, 2013]
- Education Scotland (2013a) *The Purpose of the Curriculum* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/thecurriculum/whatiscurriculumforexcellence/thepurposeofthecurriculum/index.asp> [Accessed November 16, 2013]

- Eekelaar, J. (1986) The Emergence of Children's Rights. *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 6(2), pp.161–182.
- Einarsdóttir, J. (2007) Research with children: methodological and ethical challenges. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 15(2), pp. 197–211.
- Eklund, L. (2014) Bridging the online/offline divide: The example of digital gaming. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 53, pp. 527–535.
- Elahi, S. (2009) Privacy and consent in the digital era. *Information Security Technical Report*, 14(3), pp. 113–118.
- Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., and Lampe, C. (2007) The benefits of Facebook “friends:” Social capital and college students' use of online social network sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12(4), pp. 1143–1168.
- Erikson, E. H. (1963) *Childhood and Society* (2nd ed.). New York: W.W. Norton.
- EU Kids Online (2014) *EU Kids Online: findings, methods, recommendations (deliverable D1.6)*. EU Kids Online, LSE, London, UK.
- European Commission (2010) *Safer Internet Programme 2009-2013* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.eubusiness.com/topics/internet/safer-internet/> [Accessed November 07, 2013].
- European Commission (2012) *Commission proposes a comprehensive reform of the data protection rules* [WWW]. Available from: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/newsroom/data-protection/news/120125\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/newsroom/data-protection/news/120125_en.htm) [Accessed Sept 13, 2013].
- European Commission. (2012a) *Proposal for a Regulation of The European Parliament and of the Council on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data (General Data Protection Regulation) (No. 2012/0011 (COD))* [WWW]. Accessed from: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/data-protection/document/review2012/com\\_2012\\_11\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/data-protection/document/review2012/com_2012_11_en.pdf) [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Fargas-Malet, M., McSherry, D., Larkin, E., and Robinson, C. (2010) Research with Children: Methodological Issues and Innovative Techniques. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 8(2), pp.175–192.
- Farrell, A., Kagan, S.L., and Tisdall, E.K.M. (2016) ‘Early Childhood Research: An Expanding Field’. In Farrell, A., Kagan, S.L., and Tisdall, E.K.M. (Eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Early Childhood Research*, London: SAGE Publications, pp.1–14
- Faux, S. A., Walsh, M. and Deatrick, J. a. (1988) Intensive Interviewing with Children and Adolescents. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 10(2), pp.180–194.
- Federal Trade Commission (2012) *Fair Information Principles* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.ftc.gov/reports/privacy3/fairinfo.shtm> [Accessed November 29, 2013].
- Fereday, J., and Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006) Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), pp.80–92.

- Fielding, N. G. and Lee, R. M. (1991) *Using Computers in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Finlay, L. (2002) Negotiating the swamp: the opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative Research*, 2(2), pp. 209–230.
- Ford, S. M. (2011) Reconceptualizing the Public/Private Distinction in the Age of Information Technology. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(4), pp. 550–567.
- Fried, C. (1968) Privacy. *Yale Law Journal*, 77(475), pp.475-493
- Frye, N. E., and Dornisch, M. M. (2010) When is trust not enough? The role of perceived privacy of communication tools in comfort with self-disclosure. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 26(5), pp.1120–1127.
- Gallagher, M. (2004) *Producing the Schooled Subject: Techniques of Power in a Primary School Classroom* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/7260>
- Gallagher, M., Haywood, S. L., Jones, M. W., and Milne, S. (2010) Negotiating Informed Consent with Children in School-Based Research: A Critical Review. *Children & Society*, 24, pp.471–482.
- García-Horta, J. B., and Guerra-Ramos, M. T. (2009) The use of CAQDAS in educational research: some advantages, limitations and potential risks. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 32(2), pp.151–165.
- Garmendia, M., Garitaonandia, C., Martinez, G., and Casado, M.A. (2012) The effectiveness of parental mediation. In Livingstone, S., Haddon, L., and Gorzig, A. (Eds.) *Children, Risk and Safety on the Internet*, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Gavison, R. (1980) Privacy and the Limits of Law. *The Yale Law Journal*, 89(3), pp.421–471.
- Gellert, R., and Gutwirth, S. (2013) The legal construction of privacy and data protection. *Computer Law and Security Review*, 29(5), pp. 522–530.
- Gellman, R. and Dixon, P. (2011) *Online Privacy A Reference Handbook*, California: ABC CLIO.
- Gibbs, S. (2015) *Facebook' tracks all visitors, breaching EU* [WWW]. Available from <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/mar/31/facebook-tracks-all-visitors-breaching-eu-law-report> [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Gibson, J. E. (2012) Interviews and Focus Groups with Children: Methods That Match Children's Developing Competencies. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 4(2), pp.148–159.
- Gilgun, Jane F. (2006) *Commentary on Encouraging the Use of Reflexivity in the Writing up of Qualitative Research*, *International Journal of Therapy and Rehabilitation*, 13, pp.306-307
- Gray, D. M. and Christiansen, L. (2009) Protecting Adolescents' Personal Information Online: Constraints and Parameters. *Journal of Information Privacy & Security*, pp. 31–51.

- Green, L., and Brady, D. (2014) Do Australian children trust their parents more than peers when seeking support for online activities? *Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 28(1), pp.112–122.
- Greenfield, P., and Yan, Z. (2006) Children, adolescents, and the Internet: A new field of inquiry in developmental psychology. *Developmental Psychology*, 42, pp. 391–394.
- Greig, A., Taylor, J. and Mackay, T. (2013) *Doing Research with Children*, (3rd ed.), London: SAGE Publications.
- Grodzinsky, F. S., and Tavani, H. T. (2010) Applying the “contextual integrity” model of privacy to personal blogs in the blogosphere. *International Journal of Internet Research Ethics*, 3(1), pp. 38–47.
- Gross, R. and Acquisti, A. (2005) Information Revelation and Privacy in Online Social Networks (The Facebook case). (Pre-proceedings version). *ACM Workshop on Privacy in the Electronic Society (WPES)*.
- Guba, E. G., and Lincoln, Y. S. (1982) Epistemological and Methodological Bases of Naturalistic Inquiry. *Educational Communication and Technology*, 30(4), pp. 233–252.
- Guba, E. G., and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005) Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 191-215). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., and Johnson, L. (2006) How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability. *Family Health International*, 18(1), pp.59–82.
- Guillemin, M., and Gillam, L. (2004) Ethics, Reflexivity, and “Ethically Important Moments” in Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(261), pp. 261–280.
- Haddon, L. (2015) Children’s critical evaluation of parental mediation. *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace*, 9(1).
- Haddon (2014) Parental Mediation. In Smahel, D. and Wright, M. F. (Eds), *Meaning of online problematic situations for children. Results of qualitative cross-cultural investigation in nine European countries*. London: EU Kids Online
- Hamalainen, K. and Rautio, S. (2013) Participants’ home as an interview context when studying sensitive family issues. *Journal of Comparative Social Work*, 1, pp. 1–30.
- Hargittai, E. and Litt, E. (2013) New strategies for employment? Internet skills and online privacy practices during people’s job search. *IEEE Security & Privacy*, 11(3), pp. 38–45.
- Harpaz, G. (2009) The European Court of Justice And Its Relations With The European Court Of Human Rights: The Quest For Enhanced Reliance, Coherence And Legitimacy. *Common Market Law Review*, 46, pp.105–141.
- Harris, M. M., Hoyer, G. Van, and Lievens, F. (2003) Privacy and attitudes towards Internet-based selection systems: A cross-cultural comparison. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, pp. 230–236.
- Harris, C., Jackson, L., Mayblin, L., Piekut, A., and Valentine, G. (2015) “Big Brother welcomes you”: exploring innovative methods for research with children and young

- people outside of the home and school environments. *Qualitative Research*, 15(5), pp.583–599.
- Hasebrink, U., Livingstone, S., Haddon, L., and Olafsson, K. (2009) *Comparing children's online opportunities and risks across Europe: Cross-national comparisons for EU Kids Online*.
- Hasinoff, A. A., and Shepherd, T. (2014) Sexting in context: Privacy norms and expectations. *International Journal of Communication*, 8, pp.2932–2955.
- Haworth, L. (1984). Autonomy and utility. *Ethics*, 95, pp.5-19
- Hertz, R. (1997) *Reflexivity and Voice*. Sage, Thousand Oaks CA.
- Hofstra, B., Corten, R., and Van Tubergen, F. (2016) Understanding the privacy behavior of adolescents on Facebook: The role of peers, popularity and trust. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 60, pp.611–621.
- Hogan, B. (2010) The Presentation of Self in the Age of Social Media: Distinguishing Performances and Exhibitions Online. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 30(6), pp.377-386.
- Holloway, D., Green, L. and Livingstone, S. (2013) *Zero to eight. Young children and their Internet use*. LSE, London: EU Kids Online.
- Horowitz, J. A., Vessey, J. A., Carlson, K. L., Bradley, J. F., Montoya, C. and McCullough, B. (2003) Lessons Learned from the CATS Project, 18(5), pp. 321–331.
- Houghton, D. J., and Joinson, A. N. (2010) Privacy, Social Network Sites, and Social Relations. *Journal of Technology in Human Services*, 28(1–2), pp. 74–94.
- Howe, N. and Strauss, W. (2007) Helicopter Parents in the Workplace. Great Falls, VA: Lifecourse. Retrieved August 26, 2011 from [http://www.lifecourse.com/assets/files/article\\_pdfs/Helicopter\\_Parents\\_Workplace\\_11\\_2007.pdf](http://www.lifecourse.com/assets/files/article_pdfs/Helicopter_Parents_Workplace_11_2007.pdf)
- Hughes, R. (1998) Considering the vignette technique and its application to a study of drug injecting and HIV risk and safer behaviour. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 20(3), pp.381–400.
- Hull, G., Lipford, H. R., and Latulipe, C. (2011) Contextual gaps: Privacy issues on Facebook. *Ethics and Information Technology*, 13(4), pp.289–302.
- Hupcey, J. E., Penrod, J., Morse, J. M., & Mitcham, C. (2001) An exploration and advancement of the concept of trust. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 36(2), 282–293.
- Hurley, J. C., and Underwood, M. K. (2002) Children's Understanding of Their Research Rights before and after Debriefing : Informed Assent , Confidentiality , and Stopping Participation. *Child Development*, 73(1), pp. 132–143.
- Iglesias, E., and Larranaga, M. (2015) Children's perception of the parental mediation of the risks of the Internet. *Revista Latina de Comunicacion Social*, (70), p.49.

- Irwin, L. G., and Johnson, J. (2005) Interviewing Young Children: Explicating Our Practices and Dilemmas. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(6), pp. 821–831.
- Isaksen, K. J. and Roper, S. (2010) Research with children and schools: a researcher's recipe for successful access. *International Journal of Market Research*, 52(3), pp. 303–318
- Ito, M., and Bittanti, M. (2010) *Hanging Out, Messing Around, and Geeking Out*. The MIT Press.
- Ito, M., Antin, J., Finn, M., Law, A., Manion, A., Mitnick, S., ... Horst, H. A. (2010) *Hanging out, messing around, and geeking out: kids living and learning with new media*. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning.
- Ito, M., Baumer, S., Bittanti, M., Boyd, D., Cody, R., Herr-Stephenson, B., Horst, H., Lange, P., Mahendran, D., Martinez, K., Pascoe, C.J., Perkel, D., Robinson, L., Sims, C., Tripp, L. (2010) *Hanging out, messing around, and geeking out: kids living and learning with new media*. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning.
- James, A. and Prout, A. (1997) Constructing and reconstructing childhood. London: Falmer
- Jasmontaite, L. (2012) *Children's online privacy and data protection by self -regulation adopted on the EU level: a reality or an illusion?*. Tilburgh University
- Jasmontaite, L., and De Hert, P. (2014) The EU, children under 13 years, and parental consent: a human rights analysis of a new, age-based bright-line for the protection of children on the Internet. *International Data Privacy Law*, 5(1), pp. 20–33.
- Johnson, C. (2002) Privacy in That Which is Most Private-Personal Diaries. *McGeorge Law Review*, 33.
- Johnson, G. (2011) Self-esteem and use of the Internet among young school-age children. *International Journal of Psychological Studies*, 3(2), pp.48–53.
- Johnson, G., Code, J. and Zaparyniuk, N. (2007) Online Behavior and Cognitive Development. In Montgomerie, C. and Seale, J. (Eds.), *Proceedings of EdMedia: World Conference on Educational Media and Technology 2007* (pp. 3279-3288). Association for the Advancement of Computing in Education (AACE).
- Jones, T., and Cuthrell, K. (2011) YouTube: Educational Potentials and Pitfalls. *Computers in the Schools*, 28(1), pp. 75–85.
- Jootun, D., McGhee, G., and Marland, G. R. (2009) Reflexivity: promoting rigour in qualitative research. *Nursing Standard: Official Newspaper of the Royal College of Nursing*, 23(23), 42–46.
- Jordan, A. B. (2006) Make yourself at home: the social construction of research roles in family studies. *Qualitative Research*, 6(2), pp. 169–185.
- Kang, J. (1998) Information Privacy in Cyberspace Transactions. *Stanford Law Review*, 50(4), pp.1193–1294.
- Kamii, C. (1984) Autonomy: The Aim of Education Envisioned by Piaget. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 65, pp. 410–415.

- Kennedy, C., Kools, S. and Krueger, R. (2001) Methodological Considerations in Children's Focus Groups. *Nursing Research*, 50(3), pp. 184–187.
- Kelton, K., Exchange, N. P., Court, C., Fleischmann, K. R., and Wallace, W. A. (2008) Trust in Digital Information, 59(3), pp.363–374.
- Kerr, M., Stattin, H., and Trost, K. (1999) To know you is to trust you: parents' trust is rooted in child disclosure of information. *Journal of Adolescence*, 22, pp.737–752.
- Kerr, M. and Stattin, H. (2000) What parents know, how they know it, and several forms of adolescent adjustment: Further support for a reinterpretation of monitoring. *Developmental Psychology*, 36(3), pp. 366–380.
- Krueger, R. A. and Casey, M. A. (2000) *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied researchers* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- King, N. and Horrocks, C. (2010) *Interviews in qualitative research*. Sage, London.
- Kirwil, L. (2009) Parental Mediation of Children's Internet Use in Different European. *Journal of Children & Media*, 3(4), pp.37–41.
- Kirwill, L., Garmendia, M., Garitaonandia, C. and Fernandez, G.M (2009) Parental mediation. In Livingstone, S. and Haddon, L. (Eds.) *Kids Online: Opportunities and risks for children* (pp. 199-215). Bristol: The Policy Press, pp. 199-215.
- Kokott, J., and Sobotta, C. (2013) The distinction between privacy and data protection in the jurisprudence of the CJEU and the ECtHR. *International Data Privacy Law*, 3(4), pp. 222–228.
- Kortessluoma, R-L., Hentinen, M. and Nikkonen, M. (2003) Conducting a qualitative child interview: methodological considerations. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 42(5), pp. 434–441.
- Kozinets, R.V. (2010) *Netnography: doing ethnographic research online*. Sage, Los Angeles.
- Krivokapić, Đ., and Adamovic, J. (2016) Impact of General Data Protection Regulation On Children's Rights In Digital. *Belgrade Law Review*, 6, pp.205–220.
- Ktoridou, D., Eteokleous, N., and Zahariadou, A. (2012) Exploring parents' and children's awareness on internet threats in relation to internet safety. *Campus-Wide Information Systems*, 12(3), pp.122–143.
- Lahno, B. (2001) On the Emotional Character of Trust. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 4(2), pp.171–189.
- Lankton, N. K., and McKnight, D. H. (2011) What does it mean to trust facebook? *ACM SIGMIS Database*, 42(2), pp.32-54.
- Lansdown, G. (2001). Promoting children's participation in democratic decision-making. Florence: UNICEF (Innocenti) [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/insight6.pdf> [Accessed April 1, 2016].
- Laufer, R. S., and Wolfe, M. (1977) Privacy as a Concept and a Social Issue: A Multidimensional Developmental Theory. *Journal of Social Issues*, 33(3), pp. 22–42.

- Layder, D. (1998) *Sociological practice: Linking theory and social research* London, England: Sage Publications.
- Lee, S.-J., and Chae, Y.-G. (2012) Balancing Participation and Risks in Children's Internet Use: The Role of Internet Literacy and Parental Mediation. *CyberPsychology, Behavior & Social Networking*, 15(5), pp.257–262.
- Lenhart, A., Madden, M., Smith, A., Purcell, K., Zickuhr, K., and Rainie, L. (2011) *Teens, Kindness and Cruelty on Social Network Sites*. Retrieved from <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2011/Teens-and-social-media.aspx>
- Lewis, J. D., and Weigert, A. (1985) Trust as a Social Reality. *Social Forces*, 63(4), p.967.
- Leiner, B. M., Clark, D. D., Kahn, R. E., Kleinrock, L., Lynch, D. C., Postel, J., ... Wolff, S. (2009). A Brief History of the Internet. *ACM SIGCOMM Computer Communication Review*, 39(5), pp.22–31.
- Lim, S. S. (2016) Through the tablet glass: transcendent parenting in an era of mobile media and cloud computing. *Journal of Children and Media*, 10(1), pp.21–29.
- Li, Q. (2007) New bottle but old wine: A research of cyberbullying in schools. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 23(4), pp.1777–1791.
- Livingstone, S. (2006) Children's Privacy Online: Experimenting with Boundaries Within and Beyond the Family. In Kraut, R., Brynin. M. and Kiesler, S. (Eds.) *Computers, Phones and the Internet: Domesticating Information Technology*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 145-167.
- Livingstone, S. (2007) From family television to bedroom culture: Young people's media at home. In Devereux, E. (Eds.), *Media Studies: Key issues and Debates* (pp. 302-321). London: Sage.
- Livingstone, S. (2008) Taking risky opportunities in youthful content creation: teenagers' use of social networking sites for intimacy, privacy and self-expression. *New Media & Society*, 10(3), pp. 393–411.
- Livingstone, S. (2009) *Children and the Internet: Great expectations, challenging realities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Livingstone, S. (2014) *One in Three: Internet Governance and Children's Rights* [WWW]. Available from: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mediapolicyproject/2015/11/02/one-in-three-internet-governance-and-childrens-rights/> [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Livingstone, S. (2014a) *Digital Media and Children's Rights* [WWW]. Available from <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mediapolicyproject/2014/09/12/sonia-livingstone-digital-media-and-childrens-rights/> [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Livingstone, S. (2016) Reframing media effects in terms of children's rights in the digital age. *Journal of Children and Media*, 10(1), pg. 4–12.
- Livingstone, S. (2016a) *At last – recognition of the importance of the digital environment for children's rights* [WWW]. Available from: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mediapolicyproject/2016/04/12/at-last-recognition-of-the-importance-of-the-digital-environment-for-childrens-rights/> [Accessed April 1, 2016]



- Livingstone, S., and Bulger, M. (2014) A Global Research Agenda for Children's Rights in the Digital Age. *Journal of Children and Media*, 8(4), pp.317–335.
- Livingstone, S. and Brake, D. R. (2010) On the Rapid Rise of Social Networking Sites: New Findings and Policy Implications. *Children & Society*, 24(1), pp. 75–83.
- Livingstone, S. and Bober, M. (2004) *Taking Up Online Opportunities? Children's Uses of the Internet for Education, Communication and Participation*. London: LSE Research Online.
- Livingstone, S., Carr, J., and Byrne, J. (2015) One in Three: Internet Governance and Children's Rights. *Global Commission on Internet Governance*.
- Livingstone, S. and Haddon, L. (2009) *EU Kids Online: Final report*. LSE, London: EU Kids Online.
- Livingstone, S., Haddon, L., Görzig, A. and Ólafsson, K. (2010) *Risks and safety on the Internet: The perspective of European children. Initial Findings*. LSE, London: EU Kids Online.
- Livingstone, S., Haddon, L., and Gorzig, A. (2012) *Children, Risk and Safety on the Internet*, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Livingstone, S., and Helsper, E. J. (2007) Taking risks when communicating on the Internet: The role of offline social-psychological factors in young people's vulnerability to online risks. *Information, Communication & Society*, 10(5), pp.619–644.
- Livingstone, S. and Helsper, E. J. (2008) Parental Mediation of Children's Internet Use. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 52(4), pp. 581–599.
- Livingstone, S., Kirwil, L., Ponte, C., and Staksrud, E. (2014) *In their own words: What bothers children online? With the EU Kids Online Network*. EU Kids Online, London School of Economics & Political Science, London, UK.
- Livingstone, S., Mascheroni, G., and Ólafsson, K. (2014a) Children's online risks and opportunities: Comparative findings from EU Kids Online and Net Children Go Mobile. EU Kids Online, LSE, London, UK.
- Livingstone, S., Ólafsson, K., Neill, B. O., and Donoso, V. (2012) *Towards a better Internet for children*. EU Kids Online Network, London, UK.
- Lobe, B., Livingstone, S., Olafsson, K., and Alberto Simões, J. (2008) *Best Practice Research Guide: How to Research Children and Online Technologies in Comparative Perspective*. EU Kids Online Network, London, UK.
- Lobe, B. (2014) Privacy and Personal Data Misuse. In Smahel, D. & Wright, M. F. (Eds.) *Meaning of online problematic situations for children. Results of qualitative cross-cultural investigation in nine European countries*. London: EU Kids Online, London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Locke, J.L. (2010) *Eavesdropping: An Intimate History*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Luhmann, N. (1979) *Trust and Power*, Chichester: Wiley

- Lukaszewski, K., Stone, D. L., and Stone-Romero, E., F. (2008) The Effects of the Ability to Choose the Type of Human Resources System on Perceptions of Invasion of Privacy and System Satisfaction. *J Bus Psychol*, 23, pp.73–86.
- Lwin, M., Stanaland, A. and Miyazaki, A. (2008) Protecting children's privacy online: How parental mediation strategies affect website safeguard effectiveness. *Journal of Retailing*, 84(2), pp. 205–217.
- LeMoyne, T., and Buchanan, T. (2011) Does "Hovering" Matter? Helicopter Parenting and Its Effect On Well-Being. *Sociological Spectrum*, 31(4), pp.399–418.
- Mackay, T., and Watson, K. (1999) Literacy, social disadvantage and early intervention: enhancing reading achievement in primary school, *Educational and Child Psychology*, 16(1), pp.30-6.
- MacIsaac, S. (2016) *"We are the selfie generation!": An Ethnographic Study of Contemporary Bodily Culture Within a Scottish School and Physical Education Context* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/25522>.
- Madill, A., Jordan, A. and Shirley, C. (2000) Objectivity and reliability in qualitative analysis: Realist, contextualist and radical constructivist epistemologies. *British Journal of Psychology*, 91, pp.1–20.
- Magid, L (2015) *Europe Could Kick Majority of Teen Off Social Media, and That Would Be Tragic* [WWW]. Available from [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/larry-magid/europe-could-kick-majority\\_b\\_8774742.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/larry-magid/europe-could-kick-majority_b_8774742.html) [Accessed April 01, 2016]
- Maldoff, G. (2016) *Top 10 Operational Impacts of the GDPR: Part 3 - Consent* [WWW]. Available from: <https://iapp.org/news/a/top-10-operational-impacts-of-the-gdpr-part-3-consent/> [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Manson, N. C., and O'Neill, O. (2007) Trust, accountability and transparency. In *Rethinking Informed Consent in Bioethics*, pp. 154–182.
- Margaret, M, B., and Stout, A. L. (2001) Trust, Trustworthiness, and the Behavioral Foundations of Corporate Law. *University of Pennsylvania*, 149, pp.1735–1807.
- Marsh, J. (2010) Young Children's Play in Online Virtual Worlds. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 8(1), pp.23–39.
- Marsh, J. (2014) The Relationship between Online and Offline Play: Friendship and Exclusion. *Children's Games in the New Media Age: Childlore, Media and the Playground*, pp.109–131.
- Marshall, A. B., Cardon, P. W., Norris, D. T., Goreva, N., and D'Souza, R. (2008) Social Networking Websites in India and the United States: A Cross-National Comparison of Online Privacy and Communication. *Issues in Information Systems*, (2), pp. 87–94.
- Marwick, A. E., and boyd, d. (2014) Networked privacy: How teenagers negotiate context in social media. *New Media & Society*, 16(7), pp. 1051–1067.
- Marwick, A., and Ellison, N. B. (2012). "There Isn't Wifi in Heaven!" Negotiating Visibility on Facebook Memorial Pages. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 56(3), pp.378–400.

- Marx, G. T., and Steeves, V. (2010) From the Beginning: Children as Subjects and Agents of Surveillance. *Surveillance & Society*, 7(3/4), pp. 192–230.
- Mascheroni, G., Livingstone, S., and Staksrud, E. (2015) Developing a framework for researching children's online risks and opportunities in Europe
- Mathiesen, K. (2013) The Internet, children, and privacy: the case against parental monitoring. *Ethics and Information Technology*, 15(4), pp.263–274.
- Matthews, H., and Limb, M. (1998) The right to say: the development of youth council/forums within the U K. *Area*, 30.1(1), pp.66–78.
- Mayall, B. (2000) Conversations with children: working with generational issues, in: Christensen, P. and James, A. (Eds.) *Research with children* (pp. 120–135). New York, Falmer Press.
- Mayer-Schonberger, V. (2009) *Delete – The Virtue of Forgetting in the Digital Age*. New York: Princeton University Press.
- Mayer, R. C., Davis, J. H., and Schoorman, D. F. (1995) An Integrative Model of Organizational Trust. *The Academy of Management Review*, 20(3), pp. 709–734.
- Markoczy, L. (2003) *Trust but verify: Distinguishing distrust from vigilance*. University of California, Riverside.
- Marx, G. T., and Steeves, V. (2010) From the Beginning: Children as Subjects and Agents of Surveillance. *Surveillance & Society*, 7(3/4), pp.192–230.
- Mcbride, N. A. (2005) Child Safety is more than a slogan “Stranger-Danger” Warnings Not Effective at Keeping Kids Safer. Retrieved from [http://www.missingkids.com/en\\_US/publications/PDF10A.pdf](http://www.missingkids.com/en_US/publications/PDF10A.pdf)
- McKnight, D.H. (2005) Trust in Information Technology. In Davis, G.B. (Eds.). *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Management*, Management Information Systems, 7, (pp.329-331). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- McNamee, S. and Seymour, J. (2012) Towards a Sociology of 10-12 year olds? Emerging methodological issues in the “new” social studies of childhood. *Childhood*, 20(2), pp. 156–168.
- Mesch, G. S. (2012) Is online trust and trust in social institutions associated with online disclosure of identifiable information online? *Computers in Human Behavior*, 28(4), pp.1471–1477.
- Mesch, G. S. and Beker, G. (2010) Are Norms of Disclosure of Online and Offline Personal Information Associated with the Disclosure of Personal Information Online? *Human Communication Research*, 36(4), pp. 570–592.
- Miljeteig-Olssen, P. (1990) Advocacy of Children's Rights - The Convention as More than a Legal Document. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 12(1), pp. 148–155.
- Mishna, F. (2004) Tapping the Perspectives of Children: Emerging Ethical Issues in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 3(4), pp. 449–468.
- Misztal, B. A. (1996) *Trust in modern societies: the search for the bases of social order*,

- Montes, D.H. (2009) Living Our Lives Online: The privacy Implication of Online Social Networking. *I/S Journal of Law and Policy*, 5(3), pp. 506-531.
- Montgomery, K. C. (2015) Youth and surveillance in the Facebook era: Policy interventions and social implications. *Telecommunications Policy*, 39(9), pp. 771-786.
- Moor, J. H. (1997) Towards a Theory of Privacy in the Information Age. *Computers and Society*, pp.27-32.
- Morgan, D. L. (1996) Focus Groups. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22(1), pp. 129-152.
- Morgan, M., Gibbs, S., Maxwell, K., and Britten, N. (2002) Hearing children's voices: methodological issues in conducting focus groups with children aged 7-11 years. *Qualitative Research*, 2(1), pp. 5-20.
- Morrow, V. (2008) Ethical dilemmas in research with children and young people about their social environments. *Children's Geographies*, 6(1), pp. 49-61.
- Morrow, V. (2011) *Understanding children and childhood*. Lismore: Southern Cross University.
- Morrow, V., and Richards, M. (1996) The Ethics of Social Research with Children: An Overview. *Children & Society*, 10(2), pp.90-105.
- Moscardelli, D. M. and Divine, R. (2007) Adolescents' Concern for Privacy When Using the Internet: An Empirical Analysis of Predictors and Relationships with Privacy-Protecting Behaviors. *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal*, 35(3), pp. 232-252.
- Moscardelli, D. M. and Liston-Heyes, C. (2004) Teens Surfing the Net: How Do They Learn. *Journal of Business and Economic Research*, 2(9), pp. 43-56.
- Mukherji, P. and Albon, D. (2010) *Research Methods in Early Childhood. An Introductory Guide*, London, Sage
- Netter, M., and Herbst, S. (2011) Analyzing Privacy in Social Networks - An Interdisciplinary Approach. *Information Systems Journal*.
- Newell, P. B. (1998) A Cross-cultural Comparison of Privacy Definitions and Functions: A Systems Approach. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 18, pp.357-371.
- Newell, B. C., Metoyer, C. A., Moore, A. D., Newell, C., Clayton, B., Metoyer, C. A., and Moore, A. D. (2015) Privacy in the Family. *Social Dimensions of Privacy: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, pp. 104-121.
- Nikken, P., and de Haan, J. (2015) Guiding young children's internet use at home: Problems that parents experience in their parental mediation and the need for parenting support. *Cyberpsychology*, 9(1), pp.1-13.
- Nikken, P., and Jansz, J. (2014) Developing scales to measure parental mediation of young children's internet use. *Learning, Media and Technology*, 39(2), pp.250-266.
- Nishikawa, L., and Stolle, D. (2011) Trusting Others - How Parents Shape the Generalized Trust of Their Children. *Comparative Sociology*, 10(2), pp.281-314.

- Nissenbaum, H. (2001) Securing Trust Online: Wisdom or Oxymoron. *Boston University Law Review*, 81(3), pp.635-664.
- Nissenbaum, H. (2004) Privacy as Contextual Integrity. *Washington Law Review*, 79, pp. 119–157.
- Nissenbaum, H. (2010) *Privacy in Context: Technology, Policy, and the Integrity of Social Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Nissenbaum, H. (2011) A Contextual Approach to Privacy Online. *Daedalus, The Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 140(4), pp. 32–48.
- Nolan, J., Raynes-Goldie, K., and McBride, M. (2011) The Stranger Danger: Exploring Surveillance, Autonomy, and Privacy in Children's Use of Social Media. *Canadian Children Journal*. (36)2, pp. 24-32.
- O'Dell, L., Crafter, S., Abreu, G. De, and Cline, T. (2012) The problem of interpretation in vignette methodology in research with young people. *Qualitative Research*, 12(6), pp.702–714.
- Ofcom (2012) Children and Parents: Media Use and Attitudes Report. [WWW]. Available from: [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf\\_file/0020/56324/main.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0020/56324/main.pdf) [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Ofcom. (2015) Children and Parents: Media Use and Attitudes Report. [WWW]. Available from: [http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/media-literacy/children-parents-nov-15/childrens\\_parents\\_nov2015.pdf](http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/media-literacy/children-parents-nov-15/childrens_parents_nov2015.pdf) [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Ofcom. (2016) *Ofcom, Children's Media Lives: Year 2 Findings* [WWW]. Available from: [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf\\_file/0021/80715/children\\_media\\_lives\\_year2.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0021/80715/children_media_lives_year2.pdf) [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Ofcom. (2016a) *Children and Parents: Media Use and Attitudes Report* [WWW]. Available from: [http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/media-literacy/media-use-attitudes-14/Childrens\\_2014\\_Report.pdf](http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/media-literacy/media-use-attitudes-14/Childrens_2014_Report.pdf) [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Official Journal of the European Communities. (1995) *Directive 95/46/EC of The European Parliament and of The Council* [WWW]. Available from: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice/policies/privacy/docs/95-46-ce/dir1995-46\\_part1\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice/policies/privacy/docs/95-46-ce/dir1995-46_part1_en.pdf) [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- OHCHR (2016) What are Human Rights? [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Pages/WhatareHumanRights.aspx> [Accessed April 1, 2016]
- Olafsson, K., Livingstone, S., and Haddon, L. (2013) *Children's Use of Online Technologies in Europe. A review of the European evidence base*. LSE, London: EU Kids Online.
- Oltmann, S. M. (2010) Katz out of the bag: The broader privacy ramifications of using Facebook. *Proceedings of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 47(1), pp. 1–4.
- O'Neill, B. (2012) Trust in the information society. *Computer Law & Security Review*, 28(5), pp.551–559.

- O'Neill, B., Livingstone, S. and McLaughlin, S. (2011) *Final Recommendations for Policy, Methodology and Research*. LSE, London: EU Kids Online, p.13.
- Owen, S., and Westcott, H. (2013) Friendship and trust in the social surveillance network, *11*(1973), pp.311–323.
- Paus-Hasebrink, I., Sinner, P., Prochazka, F., Hasebrink, U., Görzig, A., Haddon, L., ... Livingstone, S. (2014). *Patterns of risk and safety online: in-depth analyses from the EU Kids Online survey of 9- to 16-year-olds and their parents in 25 European countries*. EU Kids Online network, London, UK
- Paus-Hasebrink, I., Sinner, P., and Prochazka, F. (2014a) *Children's online experiences in socially disadvantaged families: European evidence and policy recommendations*.
- Palfrey, J. and Gasser, U. (2008) *Understanding The First Generation of Digital Native*. New York: Basic Books.
- Papacharissi, Z. and Gibson, P. L. (2011) Fifteen Minutes of Privacy: Privacy, Sociality and Publicity on Social Network Sites. In Trepte, S. and Reinecke, L. (Eds.), *Privacy Online* (pp. 75–89). Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- Parke, D. R. (1979) Children's Privacy in the Home - Developmental, Ecological, and Child-Rearing Determinants. *Environment and Behaviour*, *11*(1), pp.87–104.
- Pasquier, D., Simoes, J.A. and Kredens, E. (2012) Agents of Mediation and Sources of Safety Awareness: A Comparative Overview. In Livingstone, S., Haddon, L., and Gorzig, A. (Eds.) *Children, Risk and Safety on the Internet*, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Paus-hasebrink, I., Sinner, P., Prochazka, F., Hasebrink, U., Görzig, A., Haddon, L., ... Livingstone, S. (2014) *Patterns of risk and safety online: in-depth analyses from the EU Kids Online survey of 9- to 16-year-olds and their parents in 25 European countries*. Retrieved from <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/39356/>
- PCWorld (2009) Google's Schmidt Roasted for Privacy Comments [WWW]. Available from [http://www.pcworld.com/article/184446/googles\\_schmidt\\_roasted\\_for\\_privacy\\_comments.html](http://www.pcworld.com/article/184446/googles_schmidt_roasted_for_privacy_comments.html) [Accessed July 1, 2015].
- Peter, J. and Valkenburg, P. M. (2011) Adolescents' Online Privacy: Toward a Developmental Perspective. In Trepte, S. and Reinecke, L. (Eds.), *Privacy Online* (pp. 221–234). Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- Petrie, M. (2010) Identity, Self-confidence and Schooling for Citizenship: Listening to Young People (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/4913>.
- Pew Research Center. (2017) The Fate of Online Trust in the Next Decade [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.pewinternet.org/2017/08/10/the-fate-of-online-trust-in-the-next-decade/> [Accessed August 1, 2017].
- Pierson, J., and Heyman, R. (2011) Social media and cookies: challenges for online privacy. *Info*, *13*(6), pp.30–42.
- Powell, M. A., and Smith, A. B. (2006) Ethical guidelines for research with children: a review of current research ethics documentation in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, *1*, pp. 125–138.

- Powell, M. A. and Smith, A. B. (2009) Children's Participation Rights in Research. *Childhood*, 16(1), pp. 124–142.
- Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, P. and Runnel, P. (2012) Online Opportunities. In Livingstone, S., Haddon, L., and Gorzig, A. (Eds.) *Children, Risk and Safety on the Internet*, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Punch, S. (2002) Research with Children: The Same or Different from Research with Adults? *Childhood*, 9(3), pp. 321–341.
- Rabiee, F. (2007) Focus Group Interview and Data Analysis. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, 63(04), pp. 655–660.
- Radziszewska, B., and Rogoff, B. (1991) Children's Guided Participation in Planning Imaginary Errands with Skilled Adult or Peer Partners. *Developmental Psychology*, 27(3), pp. 381–389.
- Rangelov, S. (2010) Summary Report Education on Online Safety in Schools in Europe. *New Horizons in Education*, 58(3), pp. 149–164.
- Rawlins, W.K. (2009) *The Compass of Friendship: Narratives, Identities and Dialogues*, California: Sage
- Reich, S. M., Subrahmanyam, K., and Espinoza, G. (2012) Friending, IMing, and hanging out face-to-face: Overlap in adolescents' online and offline social networks. *Developmental Psychology*, 48(2), pp.356–368.
- Reynaert, D., Bie, M. B.-D., and Vandevelde, S. (2012) Between “believers” and “opponents”: Critical discussions on children's rights. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 20, pp.155–168.
- Richardson, J. (2015) *European General Data Protection Regulation draft: the debate* [WWW]. Available from <https://medium.com/@janicerichardson/european-general-data-protection-regulation-draft-the-debate-8360e9ef5c1#ryy53p9yg> [Accessed April 01, 2016]
- Rooney, T. (2010) Trusting children: How do surveillance technologies alter a child's experience of trust, risk and responsibility? *Surveillance and Society*, 7, pp.344–355.
- Rossler, B. (2005) *The value of privacy*. Polity Press.
- Rotenberg, K. J. (2010) The conceptualization of interpersonal trust: A basis, domain, and target framework. In Rotenberg, K. J. (Eds.), *Interpersonal Trust During Childhood and Adolescent* (pp. 223-242). Cambridge University Press.
- Rotter, J.B. (1980) *Interpersonal trust, trustworthiness and gullibility*. *American Psychologist*, 35, pp.1–7.
- Rousseau, D. M., Sitkin, S. I. M. B., and Burt, R. S. (1998) Not So Different After All: A Cross Discipline View of Trust. *Academy of Management Review*, 23(3), pp.393–404.
- Ryan, G. W., and Bernard, H. R. (2003) Techniques to Identify Themes. *Field Methods*, 15(1), pp.85–109.

- Saldana, J. (2013) *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researcher*, (2nd ed.), London: SAGE Publications.
- Samuelson, R. J. (2006). A Web of Exhibitionists [WWW]. *The Washington Post*. Available from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/09/19/AR2006091901439.html> [Accessed April 01, 2016]
- Sar, R. K., and Al-Saggaf, Y. (2014) Contextual integrity's decision heuristic and the tracking by social network sites. *Ethics and Information Technology*, 16(1), pp.15–26.
- Savirimuthu, K. J. (2011) The EU, Online Child Safety and Media Literacy. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 19(3), pp. 547–569.
- Savirimuthu, K. J. (2016) *EU General Data Protection Regulation Article 8: Has Anyone Consulted the Kids?* [WWW]. Available from: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mediapolicyproject/2016/03/01/eu-general-data-protection-regulation-article-8-has-anyone-consulted-the-kids/> [Accessed April 01, 2016]
- Sallee, M. W. and Flood, J. T. (2012) Using Qualitative Research to Bridge Research, Policy, and Practice. *Theory into Practice*, 51(2), pp. 137–144.
- Schwandt T. A. (2000) Three epistemological stances for qualitative enquiry: Interpretivism, hermeneuticsm and social constructionism. In Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 189-213). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Schwartz, P. M. (1999) Privacy and Democracy in Cyberspace. *Vanderbilt Law Review*, 52, pp. 1609–1701.
- Selbst, A. D. (2013). Contextual Expectations of Privacy. *Cardozo Law Review*, 35, pp. 643–710.
- Schillings. (2015). *iRights: The Legal Framework*.
- Schrock, A. and Boyd, D. (2008) *Enhancing Child Safety & Online Technologies: Final Report Of The Internet Safety Technical Task Force* (pp. 1–81).
- Scottish Government (2010) *Scotland's Child Internet Safety Action Plan* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2010/02/09154928/2> [Accessed April 7, 2013].
- Scotland Government. (2013) *2013 Guidance on Developing Policies to Promote the Safe and Responsible Use of Mobile Technology in Schools* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2013/11/4092/0> [Accessed Sept 12, 2017]
- Scotland Government. (2014). *Digital Participation: A National Framework for Local Action Strategy* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/04/6821/0> [Accessed Sept 12, 2017]
- Scotland Government. (2015). *2015 Cyber Resilience Strategy for Scotland* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/11/2023/0> [Accessed Sept 12, 2017]
- Scotland Government. (2016). *2016 National Action Plan to Prevent and Tackle Child Sexual Exploitation* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2016/03/4765/downloads> [Accessed Sept 12, 2017]



- Scottish Government. (2017) *The 5 Rights Youth Commission's Final Report to the Scottish Government (May 2017)*.
- Scotland Government. (2017a). 2017 *Scotland's Digital Strategy* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2016/03/4765/downloads> [Accessed Sept 12, 2017]
- Scotland Government. (2017b). The life chances of young people in Scotland: an evidence review for the First Minister's Independent Advisor on Poverty and Equality [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2017/07/3569/2> [Accessed Sept 12, 2017]
- Shen, C.X., Liu, R.D., and Wang, D. (2013) Why are children attracted to the Internet? The role of need satisfaction perceived online and perceived in daily real life. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 29(1), pp.185–192.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004) Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, 22, pp.63–75.
- Shmueli, B. and Blecher-Prigat, A. (2010) Privacy for Children. *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, 6(10), pp. 61–62.
- Sibbak, A. and Ugur, K. (2010) Is Social Networking the New “Online Playground” for Young Children? A Study of Rate Profiles in Estonia. In: Berson, I.R. and Berson, M.J. (Eds.) *High-Tech Tots: Childhood in a Digital World*. United States of America: Information Age Publishing.
- Simionovici, A. (2013) Private Spaces: Experience of Privacy, Space, and Its Boundaries after the Digital Revolution. *International Journal of Urban and Extra Urban Studies*, 3.
- Sinclair, R. and Franklin, A. (2000) A Quality Protects Research Briefing: young people's participation. *Department of Health, Research in Practice and Making Research Count: London*.
- Slattery, K., Doremus, M., and Marcus, L. (2001) Shifts in Public Affairs Reporting on the Network Evening News: A Move Toward the Sensational. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 45(2), pp. 290–302.
- Smahel, D., and Wright, M. F. (2014) *The meaning of online problematic situations for children - Results of qualitative cross-cultural investigation in nine European countries. EU Kids Online*.
- Smetana, J. G. (2010) The Role of Trust in Adolescent-Parent Relationship: To trust you is to tell you. In Rotenberg, K. J. (Eds.), *Interpersonal Trust During Childhood and Adolescent* (pp. 223-242). Cambridge University Press.
- Solove, D. J. (2002) Conceptualizing Privacy. *California Law Review*, 90, pp.1088 – 1155.
- Solove, D. J. (2006) A Taxonomy of Privacy. *University of Pennsylvania*, 154(3), pp. 477–565.
- Solove, D. J. (2008) *Understanding Privacy*. Harvard University Press.
- Solove, D. J. (2008a) “I’ve Got Nothing to Hide” and Other Misunderstandings of Privacy. Available from: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=998565> [Accessed June 10, 2013].

- Sorbring, E. (2012) Parents' Concerns About Their Teenage Children's Internet Use. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(1), pp.75–96.
- Sorbring, E. and Lundin, L. (2012) Mothers' and fathers' insights into teenagers' use of the Internet. *New Media & Society*, 14(7), p.1181–1197.
- Sonck, N., Nikken, P., and de Haan, J. (2013) Determinants of Internet Mediation: *Journal of Children and Media*, 7(February 2015), pp.96–113.
- Sophos, <https://nakedsecurity.sophos.com/2011/06/07/facebook-privacy-settings-facial-recognition-enabled/>
- Stald, G., and Haddon, L. (2009) *Cross-Cultural Contexts of Research: Factors Influencing the Study of Children and the Internet in Europe*.
- Stald, G., Green, L., Barbovski, M., Haddon, L., Mascheroni, G., Ságvári, B., Scifo, B. and Tsaliki, L. (2014) *Online on the mobile: Internet use on smartphones and associated risks among youth in Europe*.
- Stutzman, F., Gross, R., and Acquisti, A. (2012) Silent Listeners: The Evolution of Privacy and Disclosure on Facebook. *Journal of Privacy and Confidentiality*, 4(2), pp.7–41.
- Stoljar, N. (2007) Theories of Autonomy. In Ashcroft, R.E., Dawson, A., Draper, H., & McMillan, J., E. (Eds.), *Principles of Health Care Ethics: Second Edition* (pp. 11–17). John Wiley and Sons.
- Storm-Mathisen, A. (2016) Grasping children's media practices — theoretical and methodological challenges. *Journal of Children and Media*, 10(1), pp. 81–89.
- Strauß, S., and Nentwich, M. (2013) Social network sites, privacy and the blurring boundary between public and private spaces. *Science and Public Policy*, 40(6), pp. 724–732.
- Staksrud, E., Ólafsson, K., and Livingstone, S. (2013) Does the use of social networking sites increase children's risk of harm? *Computers in Human Behavior*, 29(1), pp.40–50.
- Subrahmanyam, K. and Greenfield, P. (2008) Online communication and adolescent relationships. *The Future of Children*, 18(1), pp. 119–46.
- Subrahmanyam, K., Reich, S. M., Waechter, N., and Espinoza, G. (2008) Online and offline social networks: Use of social networking sites by emerging adults. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 29(6), pp. 420–433.
- Subrahmanyam, K., Smahel, D., and Greenfield, P. (2006) Connecting developmental constructions to the internet: identity presentation and sexual exploration in online teen chat rooms. *Developmental Psychology*, 42(3), pp.395–406.
- Steeves, V. (2006) It's Not Child's Play: The Online Invasion of Children's Privacy. *University of Ottawa Law and Technology Journal*, pp. 169–188.
- Steijn, W. M. P., and Vedder, A. (2015) Privacy under Construction: A Developmental Perspective on Privacy Perception. *Science, Technology & Human Values*, 40(4), pp. 615–637.

- Stewart, D. W. and Shamdasani, P. N. (1990) *Focus groups: Theory and practice*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Stutzman, F., Gross, R., and Acquisti, A. (2012) Silent Listeners: The Evolution of Privacy and Disclosure on Facebook. *Journal of Privacy and Confidentiality*, 4(2), p. 7–41.
- Swain, J. (2006) An ethnographic approach to researching children in junior school. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 9(3), pp. 199–213.
- Taddicken, M., and Jers, C. (2011) The Uses of Privacy Online: Trading a Loss of Privacy for Social Web Gratification. In S. Trepte & L. Reinecke (Eds.), *Privacy Online* (pp. 143–156). Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- Taddei, S., and Contena, B. (2013) Privacy, trust and control: Which relationships with online self-disclosure? *Computers in Human Behavior*, 29(3), pp.821–826.
- Tavani, H. T. (2007) Philosophical Theories of Privacy: Implications for an Adequate Online Privacy Policy. *Metaphilosophy*, 38(1), pp. 1–22.
- Tavani, H. T. (2012) Defending a Context-Based Framework of Privacy. *IEEE Technology and Society Magazine*, pp. 7–11.
- The Chartered Institute for IT (2010) Zuckerberg: privacy no longer a social-norm. British Computer Society. <http://www.bcs.org/content/conWebDoc/34018>. Accessed 14 Feb 2011.
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (2013) *Article 12* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a12> [Accessed November 28, 2013].
- Threlfall, K. D. (1999) Using focus groups as a consumer research tool. *Journal of Marketing Practice: Applied Marketing Science*, 5(4), pp. 102–105.
- Thomas, D. R. (2006) A General Inductive Approach for Analyzing Qualitative Evaluation Data. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 27(2), pp. 237–246.
- Trapp, G., Giles-Corti, B., Martin, K., Timperio, a., & Villanueva, K. (2012) Conducting field research in a primary school setting: Methodological considerations for maximizing response rates, data quality and quantity. *Health Education Journal*, 71(1), pp.590–596.
- Tufekci, Z. (2008) Can You See Me Now? Audience and Disclosure Regulation in Online Social Network Sites. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 28(1), pp. 20–36.
- Tschannen-moran, M., and Hoy, W. K. (2000) A Multidisciplinary Analysis of the Nature , Meaning , and Measurement of Trust. *Review of Educational Research*, 70(4), pp.547–593.
- Tzanou, M. (2013) Data protection as a fundamental right next to privacy? “Reconstructing” a not so new right. *International Data Privacy Law*, 3(2), pp. 88–99.
- UKCCIS. (2009) *The First UK Child Internet Safety Strategy*, pp. 1–24.
- UK Government of Education. (2013) *Child Internet Safety* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.education.gov.uk/childrenandyoungpeople/safeguardingchildren/b0022202>

- UK Safer Internet Centre (2013) *Insafe Safer Internet Day Press Release* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.saferinternet.org.uk/about/news/insafe-safer-internet-day-press-release> [Accessed November 16, 2013]
- UNCRC. (1989) *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* [WWW]. Available from: <http://www.unicef.org/crc> [Accessed October 10, 2013]
- Underwood, M., Satterthwait, D. and Bartlett, H. (2010) Reflexivity and minimization of the impact of age-cohort differences between researcher and research participants. *Qualitative Health Research*, 20, pp.1585–1595.
- Uteck, E. A. (2013) *Reconceptualizing Spatial Privacy for the Internet of Everything*.
- Valandra, V. (2012) Reflexivity and Professional Use of Self in Research: A Doctoral Student's Journey. *Journal of Ethnographic and Qualitative Research*, 6, pp. 204–220.
- Valcke, M., Bonte, S., De Wever, B., and Rots, I. (2010) Internet parenting styles and the impact on Internet use of primary school children. *Computers & Education*, 55(2), pp. 454–464.
- Valcke, M., Schellens, T., Van Keer, H. and Gerarts, M. (2007) Primary school children's safe and unsafe use of the Internet at home and at school: An exploratory study. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 23(6), pp. 2838–2850.
- Valcke, M., De Wever, B., Van Keer, H., and Schellens, T. (2011) Long-term study of safe Internet use of young children. *Computers and Education*, 57(1), pp.1292–1305.
- Van Deursen, A. J. A. M., Helsper, E. J., and Eynon, R. (2015) Development and validation of the Internet Skills Scale (ISS). *Information, Communication & Society*, 4462(August), pp.1–20.
- Valandra, V. (2012) Reflexivity and Professional Use of Self in Research: A Doctoral Student's Journey. *Journal of Ethnographic and Qualitative Research*, 6, pp. 204–220.
- Valenzuela, S., Park, N., and Kee, K. F. (2009) Is there social capital in a social network site? Facebook use and college student's life satisfaction, trust, and participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14(4), pp.875–901.
- Valkenburg, Patti. M., Krcmar, Marina., Peeters, Allerd. L., and Marseille, N. M. (1999) Developing a scale to assess three styles of television mediation: "Instructive mediation", "restrictive mediation", and "social covieing". *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 43(1), pp. 52–66.
- Valentine, G. (2004) *Public Space and the Culture of Childhood*. Hants, UK: Ashgate.
- Vedder, A. (2011) Privacy 3.0. In Van Der Hof, S., & Groothuis, M. (Eds.), *Innovating Government* (pp. 17-28). New York/Berlin/The Hague: Springer.
- Vicknair, J., Elkersh, D., Yancey, K., and Budden, M. C. (2010) The use of social networking websites as a recruiting tool for employers. *American Journal of Business Education*, 3(11), pp. 7–12.

- Vincent, J. (2015) *Mobile opportunities: Exploring positive mobile media opportunities for European children*. Retrieved from <http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/EUKidsOnline/EU Kids Online reports.aspx>
- Vitak, J. (2012) The Impact of Context Collapse and Privacy on Social Network Site Disclosures. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 56(4), pp. 451–470.
- Waldman, A. E. (2014) Privacy as Trust: Sharing Personal Information in the Twenty-First Century. *University of Miami Law Review*, p.1–52.
- Walrave, M. and Heirman, W. (2011) Disclosing or Protecting Teenagers' Online Self-Disclosure. In Gutwirth, S., Poulet, Y., De Hert, P. and Leenes, R. (Eds.), *Computers, Privacy and Data Protection: An Element of Choice* (pp. 285 – 307). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.
- Wanjiru, J. (2016) *Conceptualising Inclusive Education for Conflict Affected Children in one School in Kenya: Implications for Leadership and Inclusive Practices* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/22804>.
- Warin, J. (2011) Ethical Mindfulness and Reflexivity: Managing a Research Relationship With Children and Young People in a 14-Year Qualitative Longitudinal Research (QLR) Study. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17(9), pp. 805–814.
- Warren, R. (2001) In Words and Deeds: Parental Involvement and Mediation of Children's Television Viewing. *Journal of Family Communication*, 1(4), pp.211–231.
- Warren, R., Gerke, P., and Kelly, M. A. (2002) Parental Involvement and Mediation of Children's Television Viewing. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 46(1), pp. 87–111.
- Warren, R. (2005) Parental mediation of children's television viewing in low-income families. *Journal of Communication*, 55(4), pp. 847–863.
- Warren, S. D., and Brandeis, L. D. (1985) The right to privacy. In Johnson, D. G. and Snapper, J. W. (Eds.), *Ethical issues in the use of computers* (pp. 172–183). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth. (Originally published in *Harvard Educational Review* 4, December 5, 1890, pp.193–220)
- Wartella, E., Beaudoin-Ryan, L., Blackwell, C. K., Cingel, D. P., Hurwitz, L. B., and Lauricella, A. R. (2016) What kind of adults will our children become? The impact of growing up in a media-saturated world. *Journal of Children and Media*, 10(1), pp. 13–20.
- Wang, Y. D., and Emurian, H. H. (2005) An overview of online trust: Concepts, elements, and implications. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 21(1), pp.105–125.
- Weitzman, E. A. (1999) Analyzing qualitative data with computer software. *Health Services Research*, 34(5), pp.1241–1263.
- Westin, A. F. (1967) *Privacy and freedom*, London: Bodley Head.
- White, L. S. (2012) Conducting School-based Research: Lessons Learned from an After-school Intervention Study. *Journal of Pediatric Health Care*, 26(1), pp.75–79.

- Wiesemann, C. (2016) Trust. In *Moral Equality, Bioethics, and the Child* (Vol. 67, pp. 87–102). Springer International Publishing Switzerland 2016.
- Williams, D. C. (2006) On and off the 'net: Scales for social capital in an online era. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 11(2), pp. 593–628.
- Williams, M., Jones, O., Fleuriot, C., and Wood, L. (2005) Children and Emerging Wireless Technologies: Investigating the Potential for Spatial Practice. In *SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 819–828).
- Willett, R. J. (2015) The discursive construction of “good parenting” and digital media - the case of children’s virtual world games. *Media, Culture & Society*, 37(3), pp. 1060 – 1075.
- Willumsen, E., Hugaas, J. V., and Studsrød, I. (2014) The Child as Co-researcher—Moral and Epistemological Issues in Childhood Research. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 0(July), pp. 1–18.
- Wolfe, M. and Laufer, R. (1974) The concept of privacy in childhood and adolescence. In: Carson, D. H. and Margulis, S. T. (Eds.) *Man-environment interactions: evaluations and applications* (Part 2), Vol 6. Environmental Design Research Association, Washington, DC, pp. 29–54
- WSIS. (2005) *Tunis Agenda for the Information Society. World Summit on the Information Society*. Retrieved from <http://www.itu.int/wsis/docs2/tunis/off/6rev1.html>
- Yao, M. Z. (2011) Self-Protection of Online Privacy: A Behavioral Approach. In S. Trepte & L. Reinecke (Eds.), *Privacy Online* (pp. 111–125). Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- Yin, K. R. (2009) *Case Study Research Design and Methods*, (4th ed.), London: SAGE Publications.
- Youn, S. (2008) Parental Influence and Teens’ Attitude towards Online Privacy Protection. *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, 42(3), pp. 362–388.
- Young, A. L., and Quan-Haase, A. (2009) Information revelation and internet privacy concerns on social network sites: A case study of Facebook. *Fourth International Conference on Communities and Technologies, University*, pp.265–274.
- Zhang-kennedy, L., Mekhail, C., and Chiasson, S. (2016) From Nosy Little Brothers to Stranger-Danger: Children and Parents’ Perception of Mobile Threats. *ACM SIGCHI Conference on Interaction Design and Children 2016*, pp.388–399.

## Appendix 1: Focus Group Activities Guide

Activities	Topic	Objective	Activity	How data will be recorded
1	Introduction  Participation: Actual participants selected based on parental consent	1) Get to know session 2) To agree on how researcher and participants will work together. 3) To explain on confidentiality, safety, anonymity and consent. 4) Participants to choose their own pseudonym	1) Researcher will introduce herself. Get to know session. Participants will be given a name card for them to write their own favourite character. Participants to fill in the consent form and brief explanation on the confidentiality, safety, and anonymity (10 min)  2) Participants to fill in simple questionnaire for the selection of individual interview (10 min)	1) Voice recording 2) Name card 3) Signed Consent Form
2.	Internet	1) To understand participants' view on privacy, the need of privacy and how to achieve privacy.	1) Views on Privacy: Discuss about: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is privacy?</li> <li>• Why do we need privacy?</li> <li>• Offline vs. Online privacy               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Which one is easy to get privacy?</li> <li>○ Which one is more</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	1. Voice recorder

			<p>important</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How to achieve privacy in online/offline?</li> <li>• Online &amp; offline activities that are related to privacy?</li> </ul>	
3.	Privacy	1) To know participants' understanding about actors on the Internet	1. Internet Actions: Discuss about who knows about what we're doing on the Internet (20 min)	1) Consent form 2) Voice recorder
4.	Privacy	1) To know participants' view on privacy in general and in online context 2) To know participants' view on the benefits of having privacy	<p><b>3) Vignette Scenario</b> (30 min) – participants will be given a scenario as below.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emily, would like to open her own social networking account, for example Facebook. What she should do?  <i>Moderator will ask questions like – what about her privacy settings, privacy notice and password settings.</i></li> <li>• Once Emily got her own Facebook account, her friend's starts adding her account into their friend's list.</li> </ul>	1) Voice recording 2) Evaluation form



			<p>Who would you think that Emily should accept as her online friends?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emily has taken a picture with Jane, her friend. Should Emily share this picture in her Facebook?</li> <li>• Emily's mother requested Emily to add her in Emily's Facebook friend. What do you think Emily will do?</li> <li>• Emily's mom is very particular and she wants to know everything about Emily's online activities. She asks Emily everything about her FB statuses (what Emily wrote in her FB). What should Emily do?</li> </ul> <p>(30min)</p> <p>3) Feedback on the activity (10 min)</p>	
--	--	--	---	--

## Appendix 2: Interview Scripts

### Interview script – Parents

#### Categories:

- a. Parents Engagement in the Internet [PPEI]
  - b. Participant's View on Privacy [PVP]
  - c. Internet Mediation Style – [IMS]
  - d. Children Engagement in the Internet – [CEI]
1. Tell me about yourself.
    - a. Education background
  2. [CEI]- Does your children used the Internet? Tell me about how you as a parent feel about your child's [child's name] use of the Internet?
  3. Can you share about your child's [child's name] practice of using the Internet?
    - a. Does he/she use it every day, or weekend only?
    - b. Normally, how long will he/she use it?
    - c. Usually, where does [child's name] use the computer?
    - d. Other than computers, what other devices that your children have?
    - e. With whom does [child's name] normally use the Internet?
    - f. Who decide what to see on Internet?

If the participant has more than 1 child:

- g. Just in case, have you ever notice that [child's name] discussed with his brother/sister about Internet stuffs (for example playing games, downloading, chatting on the Internet)?
    - h. Do you think that [child's name] use of the Internet is influenced by his brother/sister? Can you elaborate more on that?
4. [IMS] - What about social media, such as Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Moshi Monster and others. Do you allow your children to have their own account on those sites?

#### If Yes,

- a. Does [child's name] have those accounts? Which are those?
  - b. Do they asked to have those accounts?
  - c. At what age do you start allowing them to have their own account?
  - d. Do they share/discuss with you things that happened in their online lives? like what their friends wrote to them, what they did.

#### If No,

- e. What makes you decide to discourage them to have those accounts?
5. [IMS] – How do you deal with your children's usage of Internet, meaning to say your approach on the Internet parenting style?
  - a. What influenced you to do that? For example, any advice from school, maybe?

- b. Do you discuss with them about your approach? What did they say about it?
- c. Do you and your spouse have different ways in dealing with this? If yes, do you have any idea why?

Note:

- Communication – talk with my child about what he/she does on the Internet
- Support – I sit together with my child at the computer to surf the Internet
- Supervision – I’m around when my child surfs the Internet
- Blocking – I stop my child when he/she visits a less suitable websites/I use internet filtering software
- Rules for use/Governing – I only allow my child to surf the Internet at specific days and times

6. [PPEI] - Ok. Let’s talk about your engagement in the social media. Do you have an account with any of those (Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter etc.)?

If Yes,

- a. If you don’t mind sharing with me, what types of users are you?
- b. How long you have been engaged in those sites?
- c. Do you discuss with your children on how to use it (ask their help)?
- d. Do you like sharing stuffs about your children with your friends in social media? Any particular reasons for that?

If No,

- e. Any particular reasons?

7. [CEI] - Does your child’s [child’s name] have those accounts too (the one that you mentioned before), and do you ‘friends’ with them?

If Yes,

- a. Who adds whom first? Is it you adding your child’s [child’s name] first or vice versa?
- b. Say for instance your child likes to share his/her activities online, upload their photos, what is your stand on this?

8. [PVP] – Finally, talking about privacy in general.

- a. How do you define privacy in general? Can you explain a little bit more on that?
- b. Can you explain whether your view on privacy influenced your Internet parenting approach?
- c. Do you think your partner has the same stand with you on this matter (privacy)?
- d. Do you think that cultural values plays an important roles in shaping ones views on privacy?
- e. Have you ever discussed on the issue of privacy with your children? What is their response on that?
- f. Do you agree with the perception that the restrictive practice on your children’s engagement with the Internet has impact toward the privacy of your children?
- g. What is your view on that?

9. [PVP] – View about online privacy
- a. Social media is about sharing and exchanging information. Some people like Mark Zuckerberg said that with the advent of social media, privacy is dead or privacy is no longer a social norm. What is your view on that?
  - b. Do you think it's easy or difficult to get privacy online? Why?
  - c. How do you see this privacy issue before the advancement of the social media?
  - d. Can you share what is your thought if the future generation didn't appreciate privacy?
  - e. How do you think this issues could be resolved?

### **Interview script – Children**

- a. Children Engagement in the Internet – [PCEI]
- b. Children's View on Privacy – [CVP]
- c. Parents Internet Mediation Style – [PIMS]

- 1. [PCEI] - Tell me about your experience on the Internet?
  - a. Why do you like to use the Internet?
  - b. What sites you normally visit?
  - c. Are you using it every day, or weekend only?
  - d. For how long?
  - e. Where do you normally use the computer?
  - f. Other than computers, what other devices that you have?
  - g. Do you have different devices for different apps?
  - h. With whom do you normally use the Internet?

If the participant has siblings:

- i. Have you ever discussed with your brother/sister about Internet stuffs? What are they?

- 2. [PCEI] - What about social media, such as Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Moshi Monster and others. Do you have those accounts? What other accounts do you have?

If yes, if you're OK, can you show me how you use those sites?

- a. Since when you have those accounts?
- b. Who helped you to create those accounts?
- c. How many 'friends' do you have in there?
- d. What do you use those sites for?
- e. What is your opinion about those sites?
- f. [CVP] - Do you share your pictures and update status about yourself? Any particular reasons for that?
- g. [CVP] - Have you come any experience where your friend talks/tagged picture about you in [social media sites]? Are you OK with it? What was your reaction?
- h. [CVP] - Can you tell me your practice when you are asked to give personal information on the Internet?
- i. [CVP] - Do you know the purpose of the privacy settings in SNS?

If Yes,

- i. What is it? Can you explain to me?
- ii. Do you know how to set it? Can you show it to me how to do that? How did you know about this?

If No,

- iii. Didn't anyone like your friends or siblings have told you about that?

If No,

- a. Any particular reason why you don't have the accounts? How do you feel about that?

3. [PIMS] – Can you tell me about how your parents feel about you or your other siblings' use of the Internet?
  - a. Who decide what to see on Internet? Is it you or your parents?
  - b. Do any of your parents help you when you have a problem using the Internet?
  - c. Have you discuss/share any matters with them (Internet matters)?
  - d. Do your parents have certain rules regarding Internet use (inside or outside) your house?

If Yes,

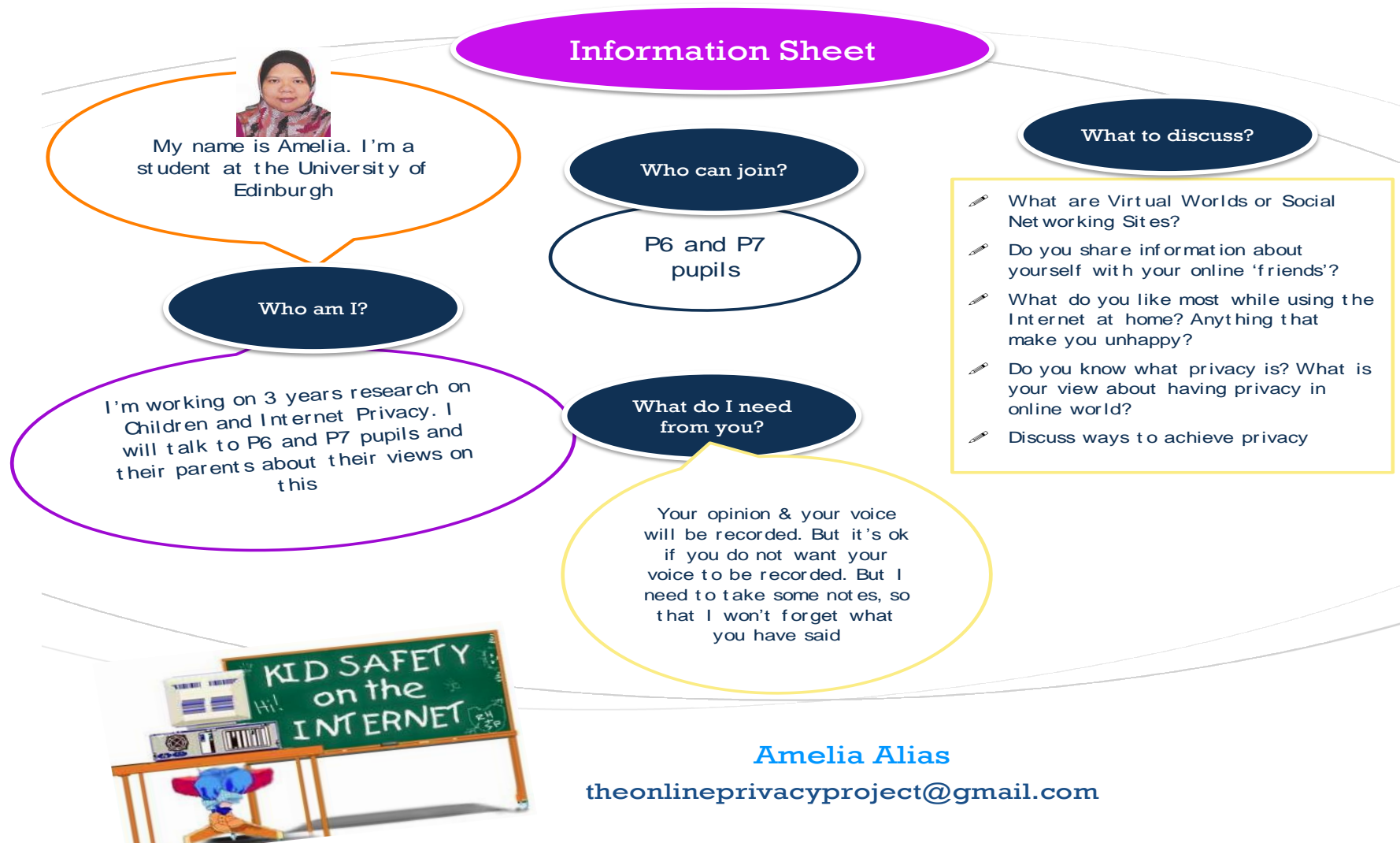
  - i. What is it? Can you elaborate that?
  - ii. Are you happy with that? If No, how would you like it to be?
  - iii. Why do you think they do that?
  - iv. Have they discussed about this rule with you?

If No,

  - i. What make you think that there are no rules on Internet usage in your house?
  - ii. Do you have any idea whether your parents access or record/track your online activities? If you happened to know that your parents use software to track your activities on the Internet, what would be your reaction?
  - iii. Why do you think some parents would have certain rules regarding Internet use in the house?
4. [PIMS] – Do your parents have social media accounts?
  - a. Do you 'friend' with both of them?
  - b. [CVP] - How do you feel about that?
  - c. Who adds whom first? Is it you adding your parents first or vice versa?
  - d. [CVP] - Just in case you know, have they ever shared your stories with their friends on their [social media sites]? How do you feel about that?
5. What about your siblings,
  - a. Do you normally use the computer together, at the same time?
  - b. [CVP] How do you feel about that?
  - c. Do they teach you how to use the Internet?
6. [CVP] - Talking about privacy in general.
  - a. What is your definition on privacy in general?
  - b. In your opinion, does privacy important or not? Why?
  - c. Any idea how we could achieve privacy in general?
  - d. Have you ever came across what if you don't have privacy?
  - e. Do you think it's easy or difficult to achieve privacy in general? Why?
  - f. Do you think you have privacy in the house or school? Can you share with me any occasion/event which relate you to your view?
7. [CVP] - Talking about online privacy
  - a. What about in online, how do you define online privacy?
  - b. Any difference between privacy in general and in online?
  - c. Any idea how we could achieve privacy online?
  - d. Is it easy or difficult to achieve privacy online? What is your view on that? Can you elaborate on that?

- e. Do you have any idea, who can see your things in the Internet? Who else do you think?
- f. Do you think that you have privacy while using the Internet? Why?
- g. Have you ever discussed on the issue of privacy with your parents? What is their response on that?

## Appendix 3 – Information Sheet





## Parent/Carer Information Sheet

Dear parents,

Hi! My name is Amelia Alias. I am in my 2<sup>nd</sup> year studying for a PhD in Social Policy at the University of Edinburgh. My research interest is in Children and Internet Privacy. The research aims to examine how children and their parents perceive online privacy and children's online strategies in managing their online privacy.

There are two ways in which this study would require your child's participation. I would be more than happy if your child could participate in both of the sessions below:

- (1) 2 hours of group discussion at school. Once only between August to September 2014. Please be informed that your child will miss up to 2 hours of class time;
- (2) 1 hour session of one-to-one interview. Please be informed that not all pupils will be interview. Separate letter will be send to you, should your child was selected.

As part of the research ethics, it is my duty to keep the information discussed with your child is confidential, unless concerns arise during the research regarding the participant's safety issues. These instances include, but are not limited to, the following situations:

- (a) Your children exhibit addictive behaviour i.e. spend an inordinate amount of time on websites that are inappropriate such as pornographic sites.
- (b) Your children participate in online groups that may endanger his/her wellbeing
- (c) Your children engage in online conversation with strangers.

Please also be aware that the information collected will not be used for any other purposes other than for this study.

With your permission, I will use some direct quotations made by your child in my report. No real names will be used in the report, so as to maintain anonymity and confidentiality. Prior to that, I will share with you my findings and the specific quotations made by your child to be used in my final report.

Your children participation is on a completely on voluntary basis. No reason is required, should your child not interested in taking part. Please submit the Form A (Parent's Consent Form) if you're not happy for your children to participate. **If we do not receive this form, we will assume that you agree to your child participating in the session selected in form. Upon confirmation and assent from your child, we will be requesting he/she to fill in the form in Form B (Children's Consent Form)**

All forms are to be submitted to me, school's ICT Coordinator or to your child's class teacher by **XXXX 2014**.

Finally, thank you for reading this and I hope you're interested in participating in this study. Should you have any query regarding this study, feel free to email me at **theonlineprivacyproject@gmail.com** or call

## Appendix 5

### Form B: Children Consent Form

Dear pupils,

Please fill in this form if **you're interested to join** in my study on:

**"Children's Understanding of Online Data Privacy: A Study on Scottish Primary XX Pupils"**

(A) I am \_\_\_\_\_ (child's name) and I am (please choose the below options):

☐

**interested** in participating the group discussions

Where – at XXX school

When – between September to October 2014

☐

**Not interested** in participating

(B) Child's signature:

Date:

Please return this form to me, Amelia Alias or your school's ICT Coordinator or to your child's class teacher by **XXXX 2014**. Should you have any query regarding this study, feel free to email me at **theonlineprivacyproject@gmail.com** or call

## Form A: Parent/Carers Consent Form

Dear parents,

Please fill in the forms below if **you're not happy with your child's** participation in this study.

I am **NOT** happy for \_\_\_\_\_ (child's name) to participate in your research about Children and Internet Privacy.

Parent's (Father/Mother/Carer) signature and date: \_\_\_\_\_

Please return this form to me, Amelia Alias or your school's ICT Coordinator or to your child's class teacher by **5<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014**. Should you have any query regarding this study, feel free to email me at: **theonlineprivacyproject@gmail.com** or call

## Form C: Parent/Carer Participation Consent Form

Dear parents,

Please fill in this form if **you're interested to join** in my study on:  
**"Children's Understanding of Online Data Privacy: A Study on Scottish  
Primary XX Pupils"**

1. I \_\_\_\_\_ (participant's name),  
father/mother/carers of \_\_\_\_\_ (child's name) in  
\_\_\_\_\_ (class name) is **interested** in participating in your research about

Children and Internet Privacy and in joining the session below:

- Where – At participant's home.  
Participant's address is:

\_\_\_\_\_

Participant's contact number:

\_\_\_\_\_

- How long?  
**Approximately 1 hour. Once only**

2. Participant's signature:

Date:

Please return this form together with other forms to me, Amelia Alias or your  
school's ICT Coordinator or to your child's class teacher.

Thank you for your participation. I will contact you in due course to arrange an  
interview time that is convenient to you. Should you have any query regarding this  
study, feel free to email me at: **theonlineprivacyproject@gmail.com** or call

## Appendix 8: Focus Group and Interview Evaluation Form

---

**What do you think of what we did today?**

**A. What were the two best things about it?**

1

2

**B. What were the two worst things about it?**

1

2

**C. What would make it better?**

1

2

## Appendix 9

### Survey on the usage of the Virtual World and Social Networking Sites

Pupil's Name :

Class:

Hi, Thank you for your interest to join in this study. The purpose of this brief survey is for me to understand your involvement in the virtual world and social networking sites.

Please circle your answer:

1. Do you have Internet access at home?

Circle your answer:

(a) Yes. Please answer the question below:

(i) Do you use it?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(c) Not sure

(ii) Does your parents/Carer user it?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(c) Not sure

(b) No

(c) Do not know

2. What activities do you normally do in the Internet?

Circle your answer. You may choose more than one answer

(a) Playing games

(b) Access to Virtual world sites (Moshi Monster/Animal Jam)

(c) Access to Social Networking sites (Facebook, Twitter)

(d) Doing homework

(e) Others. Please write below:

---

3. Do you have any account with virtual worlds OR social networking sites?

Circle your answer: a or b

- (a) No. Any particular reason why you do not have an account with any virtual world or social networking sites?

---

**Thank you. Your questionnaire ends here. Please stop here and submit this to the teacher or the researcher**

- (b) Yes.

- (i) What are the social networking sites of virtual world sites that you have? Please write here:

---

- (ii) If you could remember, at what school level (what primary) do you have your first social networking account?

Circle your answer:

- (a) P1
- (b) P2
- (c) P3
- (d) P4
- (e) P5
- (f) P6
- (g) I Cannot remember

- (iii) How often do you sign in to your virtual world or social networking sites at home?

Circle your answer:

- (a) Everyday
- (b) Only 2-3 times a week
- (c) Once in 2 weeks

Thank you. Your questionnaire ends here.



## Appendix 10: Children Focus Groups & Interview Consent Form

---

My real name is:

My name in the group is

☐

I am happy to take part in the young people's panel meeting on \_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_ / 2014

☐

I understand that taking part is voluntary and I can change my mind and stop taking part in the panel meeting at any point.

☐

I am happy for the researcher to tape record some parts of the meeting and understand that the tape will be destroyed when no longer needed.

☐

I understand that my name will not be used in any report or any other materials written as a result of the meeting.

My signature:

Date:

## Appendix 11 – Letter to Parents

Dear Parents of XXXX,

I am pleased to inform you that XXXX has successfully attended to a group discussion on the Internet Privacy, which was held at the XXXX After School Club (XXASC) between 25-28<sup>th</sup> August 2014. In relation to this, I am interested in continuing to one-to-one interview with XXXXX at LPASC, which is scheduled between 8 – 19<sup>th</sup> September 2014. During this interview, I will further discuss with XXXX about his attitude and practice in navigating the Internet, his view on your Internet mediation style at home and how he practices his understanding of privacy on the Internet. Please be informed that your child will miss up to 1 hour of class time.

In addition, I would also keen to talk either with you or your spouse about your:

- Internet mediation styles at home
- Views on privacy in general and on the Internet/online
- Expectations when your child participate in virtual worlds and social networking sites such as Animal Jam, Moshi Monsters, Whatapps, Facebook, Twitter etc.

This 1-hour one-to-one interview session with me will be conducted **between September to October 2014** at any time and place suitable for you.

As part of the research ethics, it is my duty to keep the information discussed with you and your child is confidential, unless concerns arise during the research regarding the participant's safety issues. These instances include, but are not limited to, the following situations:

- (a) Your children exhibit addictive behaviour, i.e. spends an inordinate amount of time on websites that are inappropriate such as pornographic sites.
- (b) Your children participate in online groups that may endanger his/her well being
- (c) Your children engage in online conversation with strangers.

Please also be aware that the information collected will not be used for any other purposes other than for this study. With your permission, I will use some direct quotations made by you and your child in my report. No real names will be used in the report, so as to maintain anonymity and confidentiality. Prior to that, I will share with you my findings and the specific quotations made by you and your child to be used in my final report.

Participation in this study is on a completely on voluntary basis. No reason is required, should you or your child not interested in taking part. Please submit the Form A (Parent's Consent Form) if you're not happy for your children to participate. **If we do not receive this form, we will assume that you agree to your child participating in the session selected in form.** In addition, should you are interested in participating, I would appreciate it if you could fill in the form in Form A (Parent's participation consent form).

All forms are to be submitted to me, school's ICT Coordinator or to your child's class teacher by **5<sup>th</sup> September 2014**.

Finally, thank you for reading this and I hope you and your child interested in participating in this study. Should you have any query regarding this study, feel free to email me at **theonlineprivacyproject@gmail.com** or call .

Kind regards,

## Appendix 12

### Form A: Parent/Carer Participation Consent Form – Individual Interview

Dear parents,

Please fill in this form if **you're interested to join** in my study on:  
**"Children's Understanding of Online Data Privacy: A Study on Scottish Primary P6 and P7 Pupils"**

1. I \_\_\_\_\_ (participant's name),  
father/mother/carers of \_\_\_\_\_ (child's name) in  
\_\_\_\_\_ (class name) is **interested** in participating in your research about

Children and Internet Privacy and in joining the session below:

- Where – At participant's home.

Participant's address is:

\_\_\_\_\_

Participant's contact number:

\_\_\_\_\_

- How long?  
**Approximately 1 hour. Once only**

2. Participant's signature:

Date:

Please return this form together with other forms to me, Amelia Alias or your school's ICT Coordinator or to your child's class teacher.

Thank you for your participation. I will contact you in due course to arrange an interview time that is convenient to you. Should you have any query regarding this study, feel free to email me at: **theonlineprivacyproject@gmail.com** or call

## Form B: Children Consent Form – Individual Interview

Dear pupils,

Please fill in this form if **you're interested to join** in my study on:  
**"Children's Understanding of Online Data Privacy: A Study on Scottish Primary P4 Pupils"**

(A) I am \_\_\_\_\_ (child's name) and I am (please choose the below options):

☐

**interested** in participating in one-to-one interview

Where – at XXX school

When – Between 8<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014

☐

**Not interested** in participating

(B) Child's signature:

Date:

Please return this form to me, Amelia Alias or your school's ICT Coordinator or to your child's class teacher by **XXXX 2014**. Should you have any query regarding this study, feel free to email me at **theonlineprivacyproject@gmail.com** or call

## Form C: Parent/Carers Consent Form on children's individual interview

Dear parents,

Please fill in the forms below if **you're not happy with your child's** participation in this study.

I am **NOT** happy for \_\_\_\_\_ (child's name) to participate in your research about Children and Internet Privacy.

Parent's (Father/Mother/Carer) signature and date: \_\_\_\_\_

Please return this form to me, Amelia Alias or your school's ICT Coordinator or to your child's class teacher by **5<sup>th</sup> Sept 2014**. Should you have any query regarding this study, feel free to email me at: **theonlineprivacyproject@gmail.com** or call.

## Appendix 15 – Mind Map

